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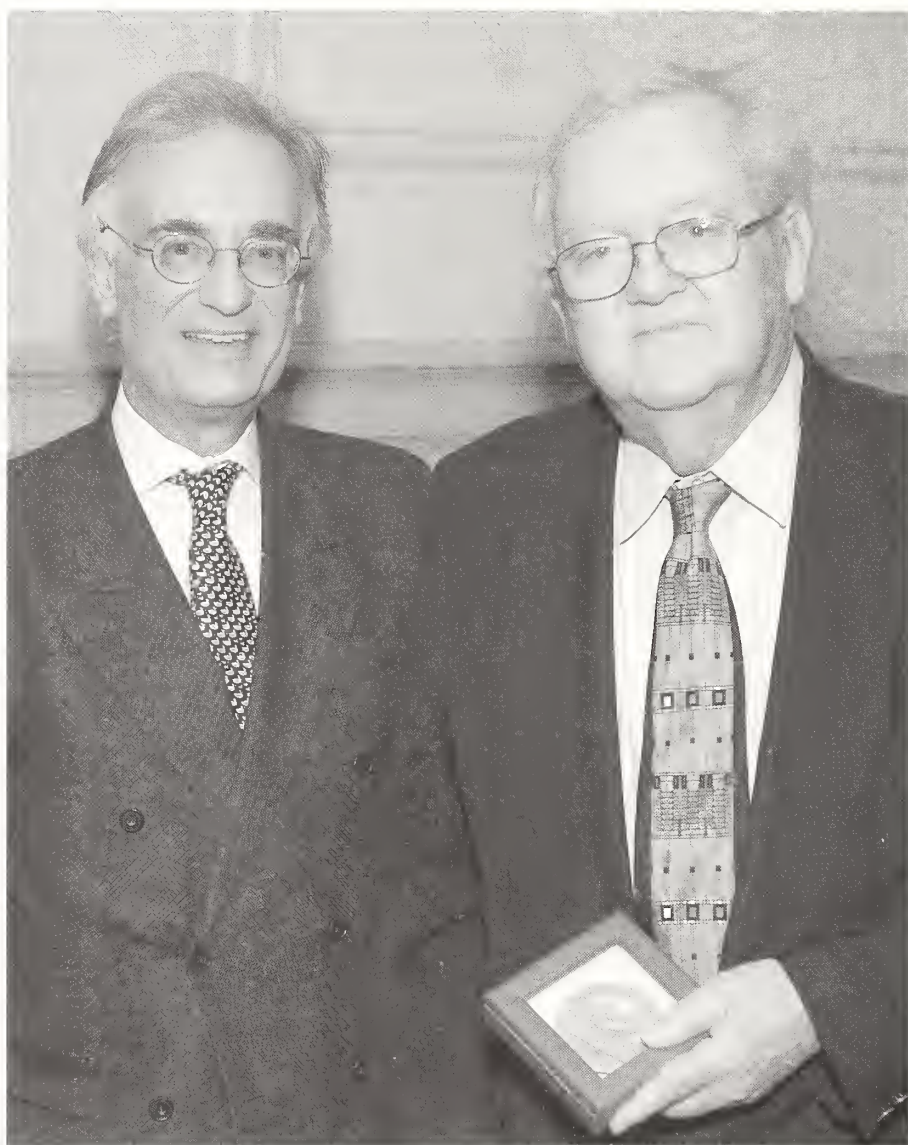
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## IN DEFENSE OF THE VISUAL

*Reflections on an Illustrious Career*

## 1 (FACING)

Julian Raby (left) presents the Twelfth Charles Lang Freer Medal to James Cahill, Thursday, November 18, 2010.

**Introduction**

On November 18, 2010, the Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery awarded the Charles Lang Freer Medal to James Cahill, former curator of Chinese art at the Freer and eminent scholar in many topics of Chinese and Japanese art history, in recognition of a lifetime of seminal contributions to his field. Over the years, Cahill's scholarly writings and collaborative projects with other prominent Chinese art specialists have played an important role in the development of Chinese art history studies internationally. A specialist in Chinese painting, he has researched major artists and their masterworks as well as lesser-known painters, thereby broadly expanding subjects of study.

Born in 1926 at Fort Bragg, Calif., James Cahill received his bachelor's degree in Oriental Languages from the University of California, Berkeley (1950) and his master's (1952) and doctorate degrees (1958) in art history from the University of Michigan. While pursuing his doctoral studies, he worked principally with the distinguished historian of Chinese art Max Loehr, a recipient of the Freer Medal in 1983; the eminent Japanese art historian Shujiro Shimada at Kyoto University; and with Swedish scholar Osvald Sirén, the first recipient of the Freer Medal, on his monumental seven-volume *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*.

In 1958, Cahill joined the Freer as curator of Chinese art and painstakingly surveyed the extensive collection, leaving detailed observations that are still regularly quoted today. With Rutherford J. Gettens and John A. Pope, he also produced the landmark publication, *The Freer Chinese Bronzes* (1967), a work centered on the museum's ancient Chinese ritual vessels.

In 1965, he joined the history of art department at UC Berkeley, where he taught until his retirement in 1994. In 1973, he was one of the first American art historians to visit China, and in 1977 he returned to China as chairman of the "Chinese Old Painting Delegation," where he was given unprecedented access to painting collections. He has received two Distinguished Lifetime Achievement Awards from the College Art Association and is currently professor emeritus in the history of art department at Berkeley.

The Charles Lang Freer Medal was established by the Smithsonian Institution in 1956 to honor distinguished career contributions by scholars in the history of Asian and Near Eastern Art. Cahill is the twelfth honoree in an eminent group of earlier recipients, the most recent being Oleg Grabar in 2001. The following essay has been adapted from Cahill's acceptance remarks at the November award ceremony.

I MUST BEGIN BY EXPRESSING MY FEELINGS of extreme pleasure and honor at receiving this prestigious and unexpected award (fig. 1). That “unexpected” is real: looking over the list of previous recipients, I could scarcely imagine myself joining it, including as it does—among the Chinese art specialists, that is—so many of my teachers and heroes. I knew all of them, learned from them, interacted with them, and feel now that I am here as a very old person, like Dustin Hoffman at the beginning of *Little Big Man*, who has somehow survived to tell the tale and had best do it while he still can.

That feeling of pleasure and honor was my first reaction on receiving the letter from Julian Raby, director of the Freer and Sackler Galleries, and I suppose it was normal enough. My second and third reactions are odder, and one, at least, needs to be explained. First, it struck me that almost exactly one Chinese cycle of sixty years—which is, as many of you know, the way the Chinese measure long stretches of history—has passed since I first arrived at the Freer Gallery of Art in the autumn of 1950 with a new bachelor’s degree in Oriental Languages from the University of California in Berkeley and a Hackney Scholarship. And second, an odder thought: that someone with a very sharp ear for prose style, reading the 1965 address of the third recipient of the Freer Medal, Yukio Yashiro (fig. 2), and that of the twelfth, i.e., me, might detect a curious similarity between them. And that is because the English text of Yashiro’s talk and my address were written by the same person—me. A prominent Japanese art scholar in Tokyo like Yashiro, faced with the need for giving a talk in English, would be likely to bring his Japanese text for translation to the dealer Mayuyama Ryūsendō, who performed many such services for art scholars. While Junkichi Mayuyama and his young assistants, in suits and neckties, entertained customers and showed them works of art on the lower floors of Ryūsendō, my close friend and Tokyo *sake*-bar drinking companion Haruo Igaki worked away in shirtsleeves on the top floor, handling much of the firm’s correspondence, keeping accounts, and doing translations when needed. And I, whenever I was in Tokyo—where I spent a lot of time, since it was my favorite city in all the world—often helped him by rewriting English texts, as I did with Yashiro’s, working from the Japanese original and Igaki’s rough English rendering. So I knew it before it was delivered and was deeply impressed by the story it tells. I will return to that later.

Louise Wallace Hackney wanted the scholarship she funded to train young specialists in the kind of work she herself had done in cataloguing the Chinese painting collection of Ada Small Moore, which is now at Yale University.<sup>1</sup> She had catalogued it, that is, together with a Chinese collaborator who could read the inscriptions, identify the seals, use textual sources for the artists’ biographies, and otherwise construct full entries for the paintings. (It was acceptable in those days for a non-Chinese-reading author to cowrite a book with a Chinese collaborator. Agnes





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Yukio Yashiro, director of the Institute for Art Research in Tokyo and founding director of the Museum of Japanese Art (Yamato Bunkakan) in Nara.

Meyer, one of the original Friends of the Freer, had done it with her book on Li Gonglin<sup>2</sup>; Sir Percival David,<sup>3</sup> the poet Witter Bynner,<sup>4</sup> and many others had done it as well.) Hackney's collaborator was C. F. Yau, the dealer who had sold Moore most of her paintings. (Fortunately for him, he did not need to deal with questions of authenticity; serious concern with that was still a project for the future.) Hackney specified that the recipient of her scholarship spend a year at a museum with a strong Chinese painting collection learning to "catalogue" Chinese paintings, using Chinese-language sources. The recipient needed, of course, to have studied literary Chinese, as I had; the age of depending on Chinese collaborators was ending. I was the first holder of the Hackney Scholarship; although it had been offered for five years, no qualified applicant had appeared before. I worked mainly with Archibald Wenley, the director of the Freer at that time, and received a good grounding in producing what at the Freer were called "folder sheets," putting together just that kind of information for the paintings. It is a project I still believe to be an important part of Chinese painting studies.

After my Hackney year at the Freer, I was fortunate enough to enjoy a succession of opportunities for learning other approaches, all by sheer good luck. I never, as I realized later, made a conscious decision about the direction I would pursue or the scholarships I would apply for. I had neared the end of my undergraduate studies at Berkeley with no clear idea of where I would go from there, only a vague notion that I would become a translator of Japanese literature, and do for *Heike monogatari* what Waley had done for *Genji*. Then my teacher Ed Schafer pointed out a notice about the Hackney Scholarship in the back pages of an issue of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* and, knowing that Chinese painting was one of my interests, urged me to apply for it. After my year at the Freer, I moved on for further study, more or less automatically, to the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, which has close academic ties with the Freer. And by supreme good fortune, I arrived just as Max Loehr went there to teach and was sitting in the front row at his first lecture.

Through Loehr, I was exposed to the great German tradition of art history, which he represented at the highest level for Chinese art scholarship in his generation. After taking a master's degree at Michigan in 1953, I was awarded, after applying on the urging of one of the faculty there, a fellowship to study museum practice for a year at the Metropolitan Museum in New York. And during that year, besides working with Alan Priest, Aschwin Lippe, and others, I found myself spending a lot of time with Wang Jiqian, or C. C. Wang, who represented, for his generation, traditional Chinese connoisseurship at its highest level. I was later to spend many days with Wang at the Freer, at the Palace Museum storage area in Taichung, and elsewhere, looking at paintings together—that is how one learned from him. And

then, again on someone's advice, I applied for and received a Fulbright scholarship to Japan and spent a year in Kyoto working with Shimada Shūjirō, learning from him something of the great Japanese tradition of dealing with Chinese paintings. Shimada took me to visit such notable collectors as Sumitomo, Takashima, and Kawabata Yasunari to see the paintings they owned. And again, I learned mainly by looking and listening through all these viewing sessions.

While I was in Kyoto, Osvald Sirén came there and persuaded me to come to Stockholm at the end of my Fulbright year to work for him, and I agreed. Sirén is *not* one of my heroes, and I can't say I learned much of real value from him. As a pupil of Bernard Berenson, Sirén was assigned the role of doing for Chinese painting what Berenson had done for Italian painting. Thus, he should have developed a connoisseur's penetrating eye for Chinese painting. But, as Alexander Soper pointed out in a review published while Sirén was still alive,<sup>5</sup> he never did, and he ended as a tireless gatherer, assembling photographs, appropriating information and translations from others without compunction to produce weighty but not deeply perceptive books on Chinese art.

Traveling in Europe after my three months in Stockholm, however, brought me into contact with many collectors, scholars, and dealers, such as Jean-Pierre Dubosc, who with Laurence Sickman introduced Ming-Qing painting to the United States.<sup>6</sup> I later compared myself to the Buddhist pilgrim Sudhana who went about the universe seeking out the great bodhisattvas to receive their teaching.

I returned to the Freer to finish my doctoral dissertation, devoting half of it to a first attempt in any Western language to lay out the theoretical foundations of *wenren hua* or literati painting, introducing numerous quotations I had found by browsing through old Chinese books in the Freer library. This was very much a text-reader's project. I became, in my excitement over opening up this new subject area, virtually a partisan of literati painting, working to introduce it to readers and viewers unfamiliar with it. I was struck, for one thing, by its divorcement of expression from the work's representational content, in which it seemed strikingly to parallel or predict the abstract expressionist painting that was just then flourishing in the United States. More recently, in my later life, my engagement with this doctrine has made me more a critic than a proponent of it, as I have come to realize how badly it has blocked our appreciation of other kinds of Chinese paintings and worked against their survival.

In the 1950s, however, my role as a spokesman for literati painting enabled me to become a member of the remarkable team put together by John Fairbank and others to produce a series of symposia and volumes on Confucianism; my contribution, presented at the 1958 conference in this series, was an essay titled "Confucian Elements in the Theory of Painting."<sup>7</sup> And it was largely in this context that I





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Burton A. Stubbs and Archibald Wenley.

came to know the great historian Joseph Levenson, who would briefly become a good friend and colleague when we both taught at UC Berkeley, before his tragic early death, and who had a profound impact on my way of thinking and working.<sup>8</sup>

Before continuing, I want to speak of the extraordinary sense of camaraderie enjoyed by all of us at the Freer at that time. Wenley, although one cannot claim he was a major innovative scholar, was a very effective administrator, besides being a man of deep moral principles<sup>9</sup>; relations within the staff who served under him were on the whole harmonious. The really indispensable person at the Freer in that early period was the remarkable Burns A. Stubbs, who arrived as a guard but mastered so many skills and took on so many functions over the years—managing the storage and installation of objects, doing the photography, writing the text for the Peacock Room pamphlet—that it was unclear how the Freer could continue without him when he retired in 1956. I made an album of twenty clumsily drawn pictures for presentation to him on that occasion; they showed him teaching a new arrival at the Freer (Wenley) about Chinese paintings, photographing the Freer bronzes, writing the Peacock Room essay,<sup>10</sup> and leading the annual procession through the heating-duct tunnel to the main Smithsonian building, bearing objects considered for purchase, which had to be shown to the Smithsonian Regents at their annual meeting but could not, by the terms of Freer's will, be taken out of the building—this was the curious expedient for circumventing these conflicting requirements (figs. 3, 4).

Laurence Sickman, director of the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, came sometimes to the Freer, and I got to know him in various contexts as a good friend. I would stop overnight in Kansas City on my way across the country—this was before nonstop flights were common—and Larry would put me up in his modest but comfortable house. We spent a lot of time looking at paintings together. Among his strengths was the breadth of his tastes and expertise in areas of Chinese art ignored by most others, including furniture and what he called *dongxi*, things or objects; these tastes he had absorbed during his years in China. And I was one of the



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One of the author's pictures for Stubbs's retirement album depicts Stubbs showing paintings to the Freer's new director, Archibald Wenley.

team Larry brought together in 1960–61 to catalogue the newly formed Crawford Collection.<sup>11</sup>

Other visitors to the Freer included Zhang Daqian, who had been in Japan during my Fulbright year there and whom I'd come to know well. We conversed in our one common language, Japanese, in which both of us were fairly fluent. He had advised and encouraged me in my first major purchase of a Chinese painting for my own collection, the *Fisherman* handscroll by Wu Wei; I needed support before putting out the purchase price, which was around \$150, a big amount for a Fulbright student.<sup>12</sup> There is a photograph of us together, taken on the Freer steps in 1958 after one of Zhang's visits; with us are his wife and son and his artist-disciple, Mrs. Fang Zhaoling.<sup>13</sup>

I had become aware of Zhang's forgeries of early Chinese paintings while in Japan and even more so in Hong Kong and Paris on the way home, and identified one among recent Freer purchases after my return.<sup>14</sup> Detecting them became an important project for me. Zhang and I remained friends; I thought of him as a respected adversary with whom I was playing a high-level game. But in time I began to worry that too much of the limited funds available to major museums for purchasing early Chinese paintings was being spent on Zhang's fakes, and I set about trying to expose him—a project too long and complex even to outline here. His daughter Sing was for a time my student.

It was also in the late 1950s and early '60s that I was engaged in a series of large projects involving the National Palace Museum collection in Taiwan, which at that time was stored in an old sugar-cane factory some miles outside Taichung. It was only in 1965 that the present Palace Museum buildings outside Taipei were opened,

and the collection moved there.<sup>15</sup> I visited it briefly in 1955 to see Yuan paintings for my dissertation; in 1958 and '59, I was back, together with C. C. Wang, to choose paintings to reproduce—most of them for the first time in color—in the book *Chinese Painting* that I was writing for the Swiss publisher Albert Skira.<sup>16</sup>

In 1961 the great exhibition *Chinese Art Treasures* came to the National Gallery, with a catalogue written mostly by John Pope and me at the Freer and Aschwin Lippe at the Met. I organized a “post-mortem symposium” in 1962 as a follow-up to that, to discuss controversial paintings that had been in it; this went on for two days in the basement auditorium of Asia House Gallery.<sup>17</sup> I sat at the head table along with Larry Sickman and Lippe, choosing slides to show and inviting opinions about the paintings from members of the audience, which included just about everybody in Chinese painting studies at that time; it was our first grand gathering. Helping us by running slides and recording the proceedings were young graduate students from Princeton with names like John Hay and Roderick Whitfield. The two days of highly stimulating discussion began with the well-known painting, *The Emperor Minghuang's Journey to Shu*, National Palace Museum, Taipei, which Max Loehr and Alec Soper dated exactly a millennium apart—Max in the eighth century, Alec in the eighteenth. This demonstrated how far from agreement we scholars still were, to the dismay of some dealers and collectors in the audience. The event was funded with a \$750 grant I had applied for and received from the American Council of Learned Societies committee I'd served on, and I returned some of the money unspent. I did not know any better; the great age of big-spending symposia still lay ahead.

For the winter of 1962–63 I organized, with much help from Dick Edwards at the University of Michigan, a large-scale project to photograph paintings in that greatest of collections, which was still stored outside Taichung; Ray Schwartz of the Freer was the photographer this time. A side project, assigned to me by the female employees at the Freer before we left, was to find a wife for Ray, who was fortyish, still unmarried, and very shy.<sup>18</sup>

Both projects were highly successful. I have a photograph that shows Ray and his future wife, Janny, a few minutes before he proposed to her; we—my then-wife Dorothy and our children, Nicholas and Sarah—had taken them on an outing to an obscure and scenic river gorge north of Taichung, since she could not be seen with him in public. The photographs from the project were deposited at the University of Michigan, becoming the original basis for the Asian Art Photographic Distribution Service.

During my last years at the Freer, up to my departure in 1965, I was an active participant in another major project, producing the Freer bronzes catalogue—which was not published until 1967, but was in preparation during those years.<sup>19</sup> My role



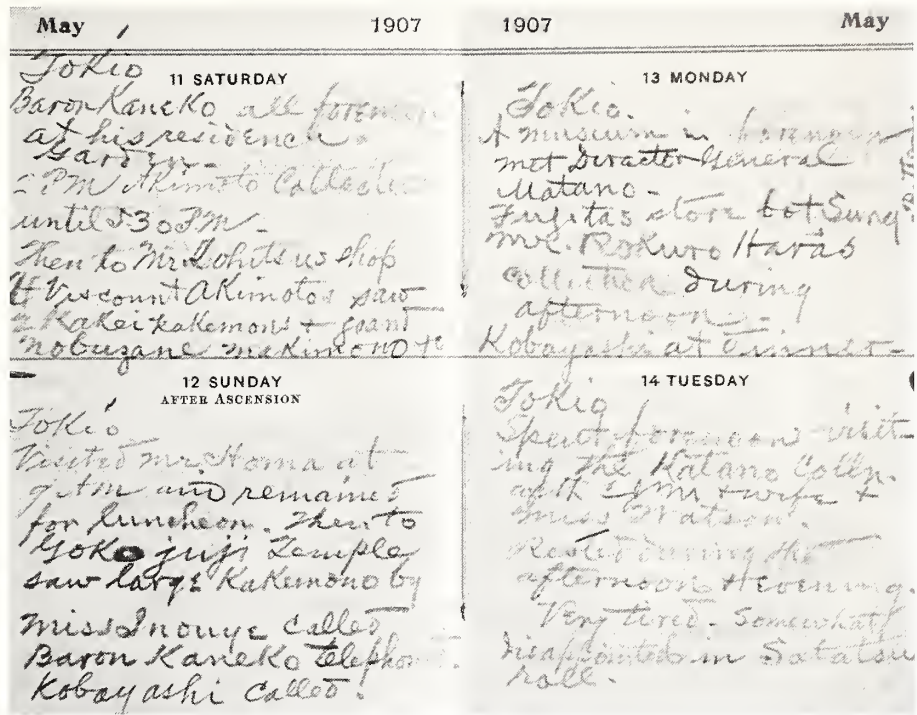


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Charles Lang Freer, Hara Tomitaro,  
and others at Hara's villa near  
Yokohama, 1907.

was to write the sections on style and dating. John Pope, the all-over editor, generously assigned me this job in spite of his own skepticism about the value of the kind of style studies I had learned from Max Loehr. Noel Barnard, who worked on the inscriptions, always scoffed at style studies as purely subjective matters of feeling with no sound basis. Loehr had by this time published, in 1953, his modest but epochal study of "The Bronze Styles of the Anyang Period."<sup>20</sup> But it was only later that Alexander Soper and others would come to recognize the triumph it represented, using as it did the concept of "an internal logic of development" to define the earliest, pre-Anyang styles of bronze décor before archaeology proved Loehr right, where the three great text-and-inscription readers of his time, Umehara, Karlgren, and Li Chi, had all got it wrong.<sup>21</sup> Pope had recognized an age of division in his famous "Sinology or Art History" article published in 1947,<sup>22</sup> which was in large part a highly negative assessment of the work of Loehr's teacher Ludwig Bachhofer, who indeed had written on Chinese art without being able to read Chinese. But the issue became moot in the generation of Loehr and Soper, scholars who were trained and accomplished in both "sinology and art history," and who set models for all of us who followed, for whom the same dual competence would be routinely expected.

I have arrived at last at what is really the underlying theme of this talk. The "sinology or art history" controversy, although relegated to the past in the train-



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Pages from Charles Lang Freer's  
 diary for May 11-14, 1907. Freer and  
 Sackler Archives.

ing of specialist scholars, continues in a new form as a deep division between basic approaches, defined now as verbal versus visual: using your eyes mainly to read texts or mainly to look at works of art. Unhappily, it has assumed a dimension of false cultural pride: some scholars, especially in China, argue that visual kinds of art history represent a foreign intrusion that should be resisted in favor of what they see as a traditional Chinese emphasis on research in texts. I have tried to show the wrongness of that belief in an argument of my own that cannot be repeated here at length; you can read it on my website.<sup>23</sup> In short, I argue that the great theorists and critics, such as Dong Qichang who wrote the texts on which the “verbal approach” largely depends, in fact spent as much of their time as they could looking at paintings; but in that pre-photography age there was no way they could transmit the benefits of their deep visual engagement with those paintings in their writings. So we get a false and much-reduced sense of what these writers really knew and believed about painting.

I want to return now to the story told in Yukio Yashiro's Freer Medal paper, which concerns Charles Lang Freer's second visit to Japan in the summer of 1907. (In what follows I depend also on information from Tom Lawton's writings and his greatly valued help, as well as on an essay by Ingrid Larsen that she generously made available to me.<sup>24</sup>)

Yashiro explained how his relative Nomura Yūzō met Freer when his boat docked in Yokohama, rescuing him from a customs official who was giving him trouble, and took him to the villa of the great collector Hara Tomitaro (fig. 5), who later introduced him to another major collector, Masuda Takashi. Alas, Freer's diary for that year (to which I have had access through the kindness of David Hogge, archivist at the Freer and Sackler) contradicts most of Yashiro's entertaining story; either he or Nomura must have misremembered (fig. 6). Freer arrived in Kobe, not Yokohama, had no special customs problem, and did not meet Nomura until



later. But it is true that the introduction to Hara came from Nomura, and that Freer spent two weeks living in Hara's villa outside Yokohama seeing works of art, and later spent a lot of time doing the same with Masuda and other prominent collectors in Tokyo. Neither Hara nor Masuda was an academic scholar; both were rich businessmen who had refined their connoisseurial eyes through collecting. Yashiro's point, which I believe still has much validity, was that these two were instrumental in introducing Freer to what they took to be, and what we still recognize as, the loftier levels of taste in Japanese and Chinese art: early Japanese *emaki* and Yamato-e, the paintings of Sōtatsu and the Rimpa school in Japan, Japanese tea wares, early Chinese paintings.

The tea wares were not new to Freer, who had already acquired notable examples of Japanese ceramics, such as a Kōetsu teabowl from 1899 and a fine piece of Shino ware from 1902. And he had already disposed of all his Japanese prints and generally moved away from the kind of *fin-de-siècle* taste for *japanoiserie* that he had learned from Whistler and others. I don't need (and haven't time) to remind you of his triumphs of acquisition in *emaki* and Rimpa; for tea wares, I will only recall those exciting days when I accompanied and helped Koyama Fujio as he went through the cabinets in the Freer's Japanese ceramics storage room. Others for whom I had opened those cabinets had glanced quickly over their contents before signaling that I should close them again; the Freer's first director, John Lodge, had taken all the pots out of their inscribed boxes and put the boxes in the basement, where they were lost. For box-readers, close relatives for ceramics of text-readers for paintings, this effectively robbed the pots of interest and value. Koyama, himself an accomplished potter, used his eyes and his fingers to judge the pots themselves and found unrecognized treasures. [Editor's note: Recently the Freer's art handlers have begun to reunite objects with their original boxes, many of which are made from strong but light, warp-resistant paulownia wood (an aid in keeping out bugs and maintaining a stable temperature).]

I do want, however, to join Lawton and Larsen in recognizing Freer's extraordinary achievement in acquiring early Chinese paintings. Larsen and others emphasize, for this, the influence of Ernest Fenollosa,<sup>25</sup> and I don't dispute that Fenollosa's high regard for Song painting, his disdain for the "literary formalism" that afflicted much painting from Yuan and later, must have set Freer initially in this direction. Fenollosa had given Freer introductions to people in Japan and assured him that "You may safely trust to your own judgment of paintings, better than anybody's."<sup>26</sup> But that was a Yankee boast, recognizable from our vantage point as, for both men in 1906, still far from true.<sup>27</sup> For Freer's development as a connoisseur of early Chinese painting, I would still incline to see his experience of that summer in Japan as crucial. He himself suggested as much in a letter he wrote in 1909 from Peking,



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*Rapids in a Mountain Valley*, once known as *Misty Gorge* and formerly attributed to Xia Gui (active ca. 1195–1230), China, Southern Song dynasty, 13th century, ink on silk, Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1911.254.

quoted by Lawton and Larsen, in which he writes: “Thanks to Fenollosa’s superior teachings and the splendid opportunities given me in Japan during the summer of 1907, when I saw practically all of the early Chinese paintings owned publicly and privately in Japan, I knew what to search for when I began my quest here—I mean Peking—.”<sup>28</sup>

From old records we can determine the Song paintings that Hara and Masuda owned and probably showed to Freer.<sup>29</sup> We can guess at what he may have seen elsewhere, again from old records and reproduction books but also from his diary—in which, like Fenollosa, he uses Japanese pronunciations for the artists’ names: Bayen, Kakei, Barin, and Rio Kai for Ma Yuan, Xia Gui, Ma Lin, and Liang Kai. Well-known collectors appear there too among Freer’s hosts: Nezu, Marquis Kuroda, Kawasaki, Count Date. For my present purpose, it is enough to say that the Song works he might have seen make up a deeply impressive group. I can only add that my own experience over many years of being shown great early Chinese paintings by Japanese collectors, scholars, and dealers gives me some sense of the benefits that Freer must have derived, during that remarkable summer, from doing this over and over until he had seen “nearly all the . . . early Chinese paintings in Japan” in the company of major collectors such as Hara, Masuda, and the others.

And that new level of connoisseurship is reflected, I think, in Freer’s later purchases. In 1908 he bought the *Hills in Fog* ascribed to Mi Fu, a work we still use to represent that artist while not quite accepting the attribution; in 1911, the fine and important *Rapids in a Mountain Valley*, formerly *Misty Gorge* (fig. 7), which reportedly had a Xia Gui signature, lost in remounting, and the earliest extant version of

the *Double Screen* picture by Zhou Wenju. (Another version in Beijing is a later copy, as Tom Lawton's book on figure painting correctly points out.)<sup>30</sup> In 1914 he bought the Freer version of the Gu Kaizhi-attributed *Nymph of the Luo River* composition, and in 1916 the *Clearing Autumn Skies* handscroll attributed to Guo Xi, as well as the *River in Shu* handscroll ascribed to Li Gonglin, which had been one of the "Four Treasures" of the Qianlong Emperor. Quite a few others could be added, and this is leaving out an impressive group of Buddhist, Daoist, and Chan Buddhist paintings among these early acquisitions. And all along Freer was also buying fine and important if wrongly attributed Ming-Qing paintings, such as the well-known picture of the principals from the drama *Xixiang-ji*, which, if one ignores a preposterous old attribution to Zhou Wenju, is a fine work of the kind I call "vernacular painting" and in fact is the picture that opens the last chapter of my recent book, *Pictures for Use and Pleasure: Vernacular Painting in High Qing China*.<sup>31</sup> My point is that no other collector outside Asia had done as well; academic scholars such as Fenollosa and Berthold Laufer, or a would-be Chinese-style scholar-collector like John Ferguson, were left far behind.<sup>32</sup> Freer's summer of 1907 and its aftermath make up, I believe, a turning point in the history of the appreciation of Chinese painting in the West.

After my move from the Freer Gallery back to UC Berkeley in 1965, now as a professor of Chinese art history, where I was to teach for the next thirty years, I was able to organize exhibitions with seminars of graduate students, notably the *Restless Landscape* exhibition of late Ming painting in 1971 and the *Shadows of Mt. Huang* exhibition of Anhui-school painting in 1981.<sup>33</sup> Some of those students and others have become leading figures in today's world of Chinese painting studies.

Students in my courses were given regular viewing sessions at the nearby University Art Museum where we looked at actual paintings in storage, close-up. They were also made aware of what I took to be landmarks in the history of the field; those in my course on early painting, for instance, always read Soper's two *Art Bulletin* articles on "Early Chinese Landscape Painting" and "Life Motion and the Sense of Space,"<sup>34</sup> along with writings by Sickman, Loehr, Michael Sullivan, and others. The need for putting together lecture courses on post-Song painting led me to undertake a series of volumes on later Chinese painting, of which three were finished and published before I turned to other projects that were not defined by periods.

Those later projects were mostly initiated by invitations to give lecture series, including the Norton Lectures at Harvard in 1978-79<sup>35</sup> and others later. I never wrote a book on early Chinese painting through Song, but my failure to do so has been the main impetus behind my current late-life project, a series of video-recorded lectures titled "A Pure and Remote View: Visualizing Early Chinese Landscape Painting."<sup>36</sup> Since my retirement in 1995 I have tried to keep writing; my long-delayed book on vernacular painting appeared only recently.



I also learned a lot, while teaching at Berkeley, from my Western-art colleagues; I was in the fortunate position, again by sheer good luck, of having such colleagues as Svetlana Alpers, Michael Baxandall, and T. J. Clark. And all of them taught, in their different ways, the necessity of looking long and hard at the works of art. Svetlana, in her seminal 1977 article “Is Art History?,”<sup>37</sup> makes this crucial observation about all the major art historians she has considered—Clark, Michael Fried, Leo Steinberg, and by implication Baxandall and herself: “More important than the distinctiveness of their approaches ... is the common claim made by these scholars, against the evidence of most art historical writing today, that not only *research about*, but *looking at* a work, takes time. They all show that it took time to look in the past and they offer us ways in which it can today.” And if there is anything I would impress with the utmost urgency upon young specialists in Chinese art, it is that no approach that does not involve prolonged and analytical looking at the work of art, and attention to its visual properties, can produce an adequate account of it.

I have been fond of controversies, and sometimes even suspected of being argumentative, a trait one colleague associated with my Irish heritage. Questions on which I took a contentious stand include whether a certain pair of paintings (the Kōtōin landscapes) could be by Li Tang—I argued that they could not and must be somewhat later—and whether Chinese artists were completely free to paint what they pleased—I have tried to demonstrate the contrary, that is, ways in which they were subject to social and economic constraints that went some way toward determining how and what they painted.<sup>38</sup> Presenting the paper on that topic at a Wen Zhengming symposium in Ann Arbor in 1976 introduced me to the guilty pleasure, a kind of scholarly *schadenfreude*, of confronting one’s colleagues with unshakeable evidence for something that most of them don’t want to believe. I was to enjoy that pleasure again in 1978 when I showed in my Norton lectures at Harvard how much seventeenth-century Chinese painters adopted from European pictorial art.

My latest largely unwelcome contention, which I hope eventually will be as accepted as those are, represents a kind of reversal of my early dedication to literati painting theory. In *Pictures for Use and Pleasure* and elsewhere, I point out how, about a century ago, the field of Chinese literature studies abandoned its exclusive dedication to classical literature—essays, studies of the classics, poetry, and the like—to pay attention also to the novel, the drama, courtesan songs, and other forms of popular literature. The outcome has been a huge expansion and deepening of Chinese studies as a whole, to embrace, among other things, the culture and contributions of Chinese women.

Why, I am now asking, have we in Chinese painting studies failed to do the same? Why do we still talk and write, that is, as though the doctrine or dogma of literati painting were somehow a central truth within our subject, instead of seeing

it, as I recently have, as merely the self-serving rhetoric of a male elite minority? What about the rest of China, including women; what kinds of paintings did they support and enjoy?<sup>39</sup> I hope I will live to witness that long-overdue opening up of our field of study.

I have left unmentioned until now one of the previous Freer Medal recipients, my immediate predecessor in Chinese art, Sherman Lee. Sherman and I interacted more as contemporaries than as teacher and pupil; he was only eight years older than I. But I learned a great deal from him nonetheless. Among his strengths was an extraordinary breadth of knowledge, embracing the whole of Asian art and much of Western art; he was the only museum person in our field who could compete in Chinese-art connoisseurship with Larry Sickman without being shown up badly in the comparison.

Sherman chaired the first delegation of Chinese art scholars from the United States to go to China after it was opened to us, the Chinese Archaeology Delegation of 1973 (art history was not yet recognized as a legitimate field in China). Other members included Larry Sickman, seen in glasses beside him in the front row of the photograph (fig. 8); me, behind and above; Tom Lawton, whom Sherman wisely chose as his vice-chair, in the upper right; and in the upper left another Freer luminary, Tom Chase, who came as our art-science person. Sherman exhibited throughout this month-long, grueling trip his remarkable organizing ability, in addition to making witty speeches at our banquets and displaying his athletic skills, including playing Ping-Pong against our Chinese guide, losing only because, as we decided, any Chinese can beat any American at Ping-Pong, even one who was a former champion, as Sherman was.

In later years Sherman's remarkable energy and eloquence were reduced by several strokes and Parkinson's disease. His talk at the 1998 presentation of the Freer Medal to him was one of his last major public appearances. He was to make one more, however, about a year later; it was on my behalf, and represented powerfully the strength of his commitment to things he believed in. He had been working with Thomas Krens of the Guggenheim on a huge exhibition of Chinese art, but had to give that up when one of his strokes made it impossible for him to continue. Meanwhile, the Metropolitan Museum had acquired, and announced with a splash on the *New York Times* front page, a painting titled *Riverbank*, which purported to be a tenth-century work, even bearing a signature of the great landscape master Dong Yuan. A few weeks later a journalist friend of mine published a brief note in *The New Yorker* revealing that I believed it to be another forgery by Zhang Daqian—I had in fact included it in a lecture on those given seven years earlier, with two of the painting's biggest believers in the audience, and shown why I took it to be Zhang's work.<sup>40</sup> But other Chinese art specialists, even those who agreed with me, were



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Members of the 1973 Chinese  
Archaeology Delegation.

reluctant to enter the public fray, for reasons too complex to go into here, and I found myself quite isolated and under attack by partisans of the painting. The only person taking my side openly was my friend Hironobu Kohara in Japan, who had been the first to publish the opinion that *Riverbank* could not be early and must be a Zhang Daqian forgery, but Kohara was far away and carried less weight than he should have.

Sherman Lee, when he learned about this situation, reportedly said, “Jim is not alone” and came out of retirement, difficult as that was for him, to support me. If he had been a text reader he would have followed up the textual clues that Zhang had planted, including spurious seals and a concocted provenance, which supplied a false history for the work. Instead, Sherman made his way to the Metropolitan Museum and spent some hours on each of two days sitting in front of the painting and gazing at it. And, at the “Issues of Authenticity in Chinese Painting” symposium held at the Met in December 1999, Sherman emerged again to speak briefly and haltingly but incisively, showing with slides some features of style in the work that disqualified it altogether, in his view, as an early Chinese landscape.<sup>41</sup> He concentrated on the rendering of water in the painting, comparing it with that in a genuine tenth-century work, the well-known handscroll by Zhao Gan. There, he pointed out, “The pattern of the water is not uniform; when disturbed by a rock, the water breaks and flows differently, then runs swiftly along. It is a living thing.” In *Riverbank*, by contrast, “Nowhere does it dance and flatten in response to variations in the surface tension. It is not the *shui* observed in early works; only a modern could fail to see the varying tension when observing water in nature.” And after





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A portrait of the author as a Chinese scholar (painted for his eightieth birthday) by Wan Qingli (detail).

further observations about how, the closer one looks at details, “the vaguer and more insubstantial [they] become,” he concluded by calling the work “a morass of starts, false starts, and half starts that point inexorably to a modern pastiche all too familiar to many of us ...” By that, I knew, Sherman was alluding to Zhang Daqian’s forgeries without naming him.

That so many Chinese art experts profess to believe in this painting, at least as “some kind of old work,” testifies in large part, I firmly believe, to the failure of many of them to take the trouble that Sherman Lee took to gaze long and deeply into it with critical eyes.

Sitting in the front row at the Met symposium, making faces and saying aloud things like “ridiculous!” as I spoke, were a group of prominent Chinese authorities, including Qi Gong, Yang Xin, and C. C. Wang, the previous owner of the painting, which he had bought directly from Zhang Daqian. How can all these have been (as I believe) so wrong? The answer to that—my final observation, another reached late in my life, and another that many people will be disturbed by—is that the Chinese tradition of connoisseurship, based as it is in recognizing personal style and the hand of the artist, works best for the later periods of Chinese painting, Yuan and after, when these are prominent. For those periods, which comprise most of the history of Chinese painting as it can be known from extant works, Chinese connoisseurs are on the whole better than we are. But for Song and earlier painting, when “the artist’s hand” typically isn’t there to see and identify, they can go badly wrong. Zhang Daqian understood this weakness and played against it in his forgeries, planting just those clues by which his Chinese contemporaries made their judgments and which could be falsified in his fakes. I say this as one who has the deepest admiration for traditional Chinese connoisseurship, and who has tried to absorb some of its wisdom, by learning from C. C. Wang and others, throughout his long career.

It is time, or past time, to conclude, and I will do so by noting again that I began at the Freer, a full Chinese cycle of years ago, as a student of that approach to Chinese paintings that uses textual sources to construct the histories and contexts of the individual works and their artists, an approach that I have continued always to teach and support, while acknowledging that others can do it far better than I can. But I have also devoted a lot of time and argument to advocating a visual approach and trying to exemplify it (fig. 9). And in doing that I have placed myself, I believe, within the great tradition of my Freer Medal predecessors in Chinese art, all of whom, in their different ways, were more object-lookers than text-readers.

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Note: This address will also be made accessible, in the near future, as one of the series of video-lectures posted on <http://jamescahill.info> and the website of the Institute of East Asian Studies at U. C. Berkeley, <http://ieas.berkeley.edu/publications/aparv.html>. These will include an additional section expanding on the real character of the “Authenticity” symposium mentioned in this essay.

## NOTES

- 1 Louise Wallace Hackney and Yau Chang-foo, *A study of Chinese paintings in the collection of Ada Small Moore* (London: Oxford University Press, 1940).
- 2 Agnes Elizabeth Meyer with C. F. Yau, *Chinese painting as reflected in the thought and art of Li Lung-mien, 1070–1106* (New York, Duffield & Co., 1923).
- 3 Sir Percival David, *Chinese connoisseurship, the Ko ku yao lun, the essential criteria of antiquities, with a facsimile of the Chinese text of 1388* (London: Faber & Faber, 1971).
- 4 *The jade mountain: a Chinese anthology, being three hundred poems of the T'ang dynasty, 618–906*, translated by Witter Bynner from the texts of Kiang Kang-Hu (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1957).
- 5 Alexander Soper, "Chinese Painting, Leading Masters and Principles. Part I, The First Millennium by Osvald Sirén," in *Artibus Asiae* 22, no. 3 (1959), pp. 258–62.
- 6 Jean-Pierre Dubosc and Laurence Sickman, *Great Chinese Painters of the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties* (New York: Wildenstein Gallery and Asia Institute, 1949).
- 7 James Cahill, "Confucian Elements in the Theory of Painting," in *The Confucian Persuasion*, ed. Arthur F. Wright (Chicago: Stanford University Press, 1960), pp. 115–40; repr. *Confucianism and Chinese Civilization*, ed. Arthur F. Wright (New York, Atheneum, 1964).
- 8 See, on my website (<http://jamescahill.info>), under Responses and Reminiscences no. 75, "Joseph Levenson's Role in My Development as a Scholar and Writer."
- 9 For a tribute to Wenley, see <http://jamescahill.info>, CLP 15, "Five Notable Figures in the Early Period of Chinese Painting Studies," paper presented at the 1991 College Art Association annual meeting. Included are notes on Sirén, Sickman, Loehr, and others.
- 10 Burns A. Stubbs, *James McNeill Whistler: A Biographical Outline Illustrated from the Collections of the Freer Gallery of Art*, Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers, vol. 1, no. 4 (1950).
- 11 Laurence Sickman, ed., *Chinese Calligraphy and Painting in the Collection of John M. Crawford, Jr.* (New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1962).
- 12 For a section of this handscroll, see James Cahill, *Chinese Painting*, Treasures of Asia series (Geneva: Skira, 1960), p. 119. Published also in French and German editions and by Crown Publishers, New York.
- 13 This photograph is published on the front cover of *Orientations* 37, no. 1 (January–February 2006).
- 14 The scroll is titled *Three Worthies of Wu*, F1957.15a–b.
- 15 See James Cahill, "The Place of the National Palace Museum in My Scholarly Career." Original English text on <http://jamescahill.info> as CLP 117. Chinese text published in *National Palace Museum Monthly (Gugong Wenwu)*, November 2005, special issue commemorating the eightieth anniversary of the museum.
- 16 Cahill, *Chinese Painting*.
- 17 *Symposium on the Chinese Art Treasures Exhibition*, held at Asia House Gallery, New York, October 4–5, 1962. The thirty-four-page transcript of the proceedings, along with a twenty-seven-page "Combined List of Opinions on Paintings in Chinese Art Treasures Exhibition," will soon be made available on <http://jamescahill.info>.
- 18 See <http://jamescahill.info>, Responses and Reminiscences no. 71, "Marrying Ray Schwartz."
- 19 John Alexander Pope Rutherford John Gettens, James Cahill, and Noel Barnard, *The Freer Chinese Bronzes. Vol. I, Catalogue* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1967).

- 20 Max Loehr, "The Bronze Styles of the Anyang Period," in *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America* 7 (1953), pp. 42–53.
- 21 Alexander Soper, "Early, Middle, and Late Shang: A Note," in *Artibus Asiae* 28 (1966), pp. 5–38.
- 22 John Pope, "Sinology or Art History: Notes on Method in the Study of Chinese Art," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 10 (1947), pp. 388–417.
- 23 On <http://jamescahill.info> as CLP 176 (2005), "Visual, Verbal, and Global (?): Some Observations on Chinese Painting Studies," a somewhat shortened combination of two papers written for a two-day symposium organized by Professor Chi-sheng Kuo at the University of Maryland, November 13–14, 2005.
- 24 Thomas Lawton and Linda Merrill, *Freer: A Legacy of Art* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art, 1993). Ingrid Larsen, "Don't Send Ming Paintings—Charles Freer and the First Major Collection of Chinese Painting in an American Museum," *Ars Orientalis* 40 (2011), pp. 6–38. Helpful also was Christine Guth, "A Tale of Two Collectors: Hara Tomitaro and Charles Lang Freer," *Asian Art* 4, no. 4 (1991), pp. 29–49.
- 25 Jerome Silbergeld, for one, writes this: "If there was anything revolutionary about Yuan painting, it was lost on this generation, including America's foremost private collector of East Asian art, Charles Lang Freer, whose taste was formed by his association with Fenollosa and by contemporary Western painters' interest in Japanese decorative arts." See Silbergeld, "The Yuan Revolutionary Picnic," *Ars Orientalis* 37 (2008), p. 14.
- 26 Lawton and Merrill, *Freer: A Legacy in Art*, p. 70.
- 27 I hope this statement will be accepted as self-evident; if evidence were demanded, it could be produced easily by juxtaposing the writings of Fenollosa with early twentieth-century Japanese writings on Chinese painting. The first histories of Chinese painting were in fact written by Japanese; for these, see Kuiyi Shen, "The Japanese Impact on the Construction of Chinese Art History as a Modern Field: A Case Study of Teng Gu and Fu Baoshi," (awaiting publication); also Aida Yuen Wong, "Writing New Histories," in *Parting the Mists: Discovering Japan and the Rise of National-Style Painting in Modern China* (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawaii Press, 2006).
- 28 Lawton and Merrill, *Freer: A Legacy in Art*, pp. 83–84; Larsen, "Don't Send Ming or Later Pictures," p. 18.
- 29 Useful in this regard is *Tōyō Bijutsu Taikan (Masterpieces Selected from the Fine Arts of the Far East)* (Tokyo: Shimbi Shoin, 1910), vols. 8 and 9; *Chinese Paintings*, vols. 1 and 2, "Comprising Productions of the Tang, the Five and the Sung Dynasties"; [http://www.baxleystamps.com/litho/sr/fafe\\_v8-9.shtml](http://www.baxleystamps.com/litho/sr/fafe_v8-9.shtml).
- 30 Thomas Lawton, *Chinese Figure Painting* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1973), pp. 34–37.
- 31 James Cahill, *Pictures for Use and Pleasure: Vernacular Painting in High Qing China* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2010), p. 150, fig. 5.1.
- 32 I include Ferguson here on the basis of my memory of going through, many years ago, the paintings he bought in China for the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and my reading of his writings; also the relevant sections of the dissertation on him by Lara Netting, of which she generously sent me a copy: see Lara Jaishree Netting, "Acquiring Chinese Art and Culture: The Collections and Scholarship of John C. Ferguson (1866–1945)" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2009).
- 33 *The Restless Landscape: Chinese Painting of the Late Ming Period* (Berkeley: University Art Museum, 1971). Catalogue of an exhibition, later shown also at the Fogg Museum, Cambridge, MA. Edited, with a preface, and in some part rewritten, from manuscripts produced by seminar students working under my direction. *Shadows of Mt. Huang: Chinese Painting and Printing of the Anhui School* (Berkeley: University Art Museum, 1981). Catalogue of an exhibition at University Art Museum (opened January 21, 1981); later shown at three other museums. Principal essays by students; edited, with some rewriting and supplementary writing by J. Cahill, with an introductory essay.
- 34 Alexander Soper, "Early Chinese Landscape Painting," *Art Bulletin* 23 (1941), pp. 141–64; and "Life Motion and the Sense of Space in Early Chinese Representational Art," *Art Bulletin* 30 (1948), pp. 167–86.
- 35 James Cahill, *The Compelling Image: Nature and Style in Seventeenth Century Chinese Painting* (The Charles Eliot Norton Lectures) (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982).
- 36 Twelve lectures, comprising some thirty-five hours of talking-with-pictures. Eight lectures have already been posted on YouTube, and can be accessed through my website or that of the Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley (<http://ieas.berkeley.edu/>), for viewing and downloading at cost; the remaining four will be posted within the coming few months. IEAS will also make them available on disks, at cost. Notes on them and "handouts," along with links sending viewers to the IEAS website, will also be posted on <http://jamescahill.info>.
- 37 Svetlana Alpers, "Is Art History?" *Daedalus*, summer 1977, pp. 1–13.
- 38 On <http://jamescahill.info> as CLP 64: 1976, "Life Patterns and Stylistic Directions: T'ang Yin and Wen Cheng-ming as Types," paper for Wen Cheng-

- ming symposium, Ann Arbor, January 31, 1976. See also the follow-up article, CLP 14: 1990, "Tang Yin and Wen Zhengming as Artist Types: A Reconsideration," paper for Wumenpai Symposium, Palace Museum, Beijing; revised for publication in *Artibus Asiae* 43, nos. 1/2 (1993).
- 39 An attempt at a preliminary and only partial answer to that large problem is in my article "Paintings for Women in Ming-Qing China?" in *Nan Nü: Men, Women, and Gender in China*, vol. 8 (2006), pp. 1–54. (Note: The original *Nan Nü* publication, due to an error, lacked the color illustrations, which were later sent separately in a packet to subscribers.) Chinese translation published in *Yishushi Yanjiu* (The Study of Art History), vol. 7, pp. 1–37.
- 40 James Cahill, "Chang Ta-ch'ien's Forgeries of Old Master Paintings," paper delivered at symposium at the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Washington, DC, November 1991, on occasion of exhibition of Chang's paintings. On <http://jamescahill.info> as CLP 16: 1991.
- 41 Sherman Lee, "Riverbank: A Recent Effort in a Long Tradition," in Judith B. Smith and Wen C. Fong, eds., *Issues of Authenticity in Chinese Painting* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999). My own paper appears in the same volume; "The Case Against Riverbank: An Indictment in Fourteen Counts," pp. 13–63. See also, on <http://jamescahill.info>, CLP 36 1999, "Afterword," and CLP 53: 2002, "Riverbank as a Chang Dai-chien Forgery," English text for article published in Japanese in *Geijutsu Shincho*, May 2002.



## THE SIXTH CENTURY IN EAST ASIAN ARCHITECTURE

### Abstract

Only two pagodas and one Buddhist pillar stand in China to represent architecture of the sixth century. Other information about buildings in the century before the Tang dynasty (618–907) has heretofore been filled in through written records, contemporary and earlier relief sculpture and painting, and inferences from wooden architecture of the sixth through eighth century in Japan. Korean architecture has rarely been considered in assessments of sixth-century Chinese architecture.

This paper proposes a new and deeper understanding of Chinese architecture of the sixth century. To achieve it, literary sources, excavation sites, rock-carved caves, tombs, relief sculpture, murals, pagodas, and a pillar are examined together with approximately ten building sites from the sixth and seventh centuries in Korea and aboveground and excavated remains of the seventh and eighth centuries in Japan. The paper shows that shared structural details and building plans existed in religious and funerary architecture across East Asia in the sixth century; South Asian architecture was an important source of pagodas in sixth-century China; monastery configurations unknown in China were constructed in Korea and Japan; and, perhaps most surprisingly, architecture of the Eastern Han period (23–220), particularly rock-carved architecture in cliff tombs in Sichuan province, provides prototypes of sixth-century architectural forms. Links between the Eastern Han and the sixth through eighth century are further emphasized through an examination of domes and eight-sided structures.

FOR DECADES, TWO OR THREE PAGODAS have defined our vague notions of an architectural presence on the Chinese landscape in the century before the Tang dynasty (618–907). The twelve-sided, fifteen-story pagoda at Songyue 嵩嶽 Monastery on the sacred Buddhist peak Mount Song 嵩 is dated by inscription to 523 (fig. 1). It is a sharp contrast to the squarish, single-story, simply named Simenta 四門塔 (Four-entry Pagoda) from Shentong 神通 Monastery in Licheng 歷城, Shandong province, begun by 544 and completed in 611 (fig. 2). A third pagoda, also in Henan and still today unprotected in a residential yard amid farmland, preserves its sixth-century form, in spite of later repairs, and thus may be considered in discussions of pre-Tang architecture. Similar in profile to Simenta, the Xiudingsi 修定寺 pagoda in Anyang 安陽 county is covered with relief sculpture (fig. 3).

The fact that two are in Henan is not surprising. Henan was the location of Luoyang, the capital of the Northern Wei (386–534) and a hub of Buddhist construction during the sixth century; 1,367 temples and monasteries are recorded in Yang Xuanzhi's 楊衒之 (died 555?) *Luoyang qielan ji* (Record of Buddhist monasteries of Luoyang) 洛陽伽藍記.<sup>1</sup> The two Henan buildings, however, were part of



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Songyue Monastery pagoda, Mount Song, Henan province, 523; showing extensive twenty-first-century restoration. Photo by William Steinhardt.

different political spheres. Songyuesi is near Dengfeng 登封, seventy-five kilometers southeast of Luoyang. Its patroness was a Northern Wei empress. Xiudingsi is two hundred kilometers northeast of Luoyang in the sphere of Ye 鄴, capital of the Northern Qi 齊 (550–77). Simenta, as mentioned above, is in Shandong. A fourth monument, Yicahui 義慈惠 Pillar, also part of the Northern Qi sphere in Dingxing 定興 county of Hebei, is dated by inscription to 570. Its importance has never been adequately recognized.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, scholars have sought to fill gaps in Chinese architectural history of the sixth century by turning to Japan. The main reason is because the earliest building in China is the main hall of Nanchan 南禪 Monastery, dated by inscription to 782,<sup>2</sup> whereas twenty-two wooden buildings in Japan have earlier dates.<sup>3</sup> Fifty or sixty years ago, one might have expected that additional old Chinese buildings would be found. Based on systematic, government-supported excavation and recording of remains province by province, it seems fairly certain that the oldest wooden building in China is from the late eighth century.<sup>4</sup>

Nevertheless, a view of China's earliest architecture that relies on evidence from places east of China is not without problems. The least problematic justification for a study of material from more than one East Asian country together is that most of the architecture is Buddhist, and there is solid documentation for the transmission of Buddhist doctrine from China directly to Japan, China to Korea, or Korea to Japan as well as for specific monks who preached in more than one East Asian



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Simenta (Four-entry Pagoda),  
Shentong Monastery, Licheng,  
Shandong province, before 611.  
Photo by William Steinhardt.

3

Xiuding Monastery pagoda, Anyang  
county, Henan province, Sui dynasty  
with later repairs. Photo by William  
Steinhardt.

country.<sup>5</sup> Buddhist architecture in Japan should be informative about buildings in China and Korea that no longer survive, particularly if a specific priest or the same sect of the religion was in more than one place.

Another justification for the juxtaposition is more troubling. It is known that some Japanese archeologists and architectural historians who conducted research in China and Korea in the decades following the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95, and continuing beyond the occupation of Manchuria, sought to show Japan to be the true, valid, or superior repository of the Buddhist building tradition, the caretaker for what China had not been able to preserve. It could then be argued that Japan was the final destination and, further, the superior culmination of a long process of transmission and refinement of the Buddhist tradition that had begun in India.<sup>6</sup> In the first half of the twentieth century, the concept of the Far East or East Asia (Tōyō 東洋) dominated the titles of journals and textbooks of scholars who sought to present China, Korea, and Japan as a region with numerous unified cultural and artistic models.<sup>7</sup> In the 1940s, these notions could support the idea of a Japanese Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.<sup>8</sup> In Europe and North America, they fit into diffusionist writings discussed at the end of this study.

In China, the most famous architectural historian of that period, Liang Sicheng 梁思成 (1901–1972), also fit into this mold but with a different agenda. Western trained at a time when Banister Fletcher's and James Fergusson's textbooks offered students models of how a classic tradition disseminated,<sup>9</sup> Liang's canon selected buildings from China and Japan that could be incorporated into a framework of eminent structures designed for China's imperial or elite patrons. Thereby, Liang could present China as the point of origin of a classic tradition that diffused to Japan, just as Greek classicism had been the source of ancient Roman art.<sup>10</sup> Liang's architectural history could then counter the scenario that placed Japanese buildings as the superior culmination of what Chinese architecture did not achieve.<sup>11</sup> Aware of the political issues and apparent agendas among both Chinese and Japanese scholars, it is perhaps understandable why in more recent decades researchers have avoided studies of East Asian architecture as one entity. We shall see here that, for the sixth century, the juxtaposition of Chinese, Japanese, and Korean architecture is valid.



Two dramatic changes in the study of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and East Asian art since the mid-twentieth century are the reasons why. First, new information, primarily from excavations, has emerged in China since the days of Liang and the political promoters of the concept of Tōyō. Sixth-century Chinese palace sites have been excavated in the Luoyang, Ye, and Jiankang 建康 capitals;<sup>12</sup> new evidence has emerged from Buddhist cave-temples in China that were not studied in the first half of the twentieth century;<sup>13</sup> and several thousand tombs have been opened.<sup>14</sup> In addition, several Chinese monastery sites have been excavated, and the remains can be compared with textual descriptions, Japanese buildings, subterranean tombs, and rock-carved cave architecture. Second, there is excavated evidence from Buddhist monasteries of the Korean kingdoms, Koguryō, Paekche, and Silla, dated before 668 when the three were united by Silla. The hunches of scholars who worked without the benefit of the last sixty years of excavation, including Liu Dunzhen 劉敦楨 (1896–1968), Naitō Tōichirō 内藤虎次郎 (1897–1939), Alexander Soper (1904–1993), and Liang Sicheng, are borne out by evidence available today.<sup>15</sup> Buddhist architecture of the sixth century resonates between China, Korea, and Japan. Unexplored by the early researchers was Korea, which turns out to be pivotal in Buddhist construction during this period.

### Chinese Buddhist Architecture without Buildings

To understand how dramatically excavation has altered our understanding of the sixth century, we begin where researchers did with less knowledge of cave-temples and little information about architecture underground. Tall pagodas are emphasized. One reads in *Wei shu* 魏書 (Standard history of Wei), compiled between 551 and 554, for example: “The architectural system was expanded from old Indian models. There were structures called pagodas (*futu* 浮屠 or *Fotu* 佛屠 [stupas]) of one, three, five, seven, or nine tiers. Luoyang had forty-two pagodas in the generations of Jin (late third–early fourth century).”<sup>16</sup> The same text tells us that Luoyang’s famous White Horse Monastery (Baimasi 白馬寺) had a four-sided pagoda whose sides were exquisitely painted.<sup>17</sup> Both the shape and mention of Indian sources are significant. The majority of China’s early pagodas have squarish plans; Songyuesi’s pagoda is an exception. As we shall see below, it is likely that patrons knew Indian stupas were circular.

A passage in *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (Record of the Three Kingdoms), written in the fourth century, tells us that in Jianye 建鄴 there was a multilevel (*chonglou* 重樓), large stupa-shrine (*futuci* 浮屠祠) that had a nine-layer bronze *chattra* (umbrella-like spire) and contained bronze and gilded statues dressed in brocade. More than three thousand people could gather in the arcades (*gedao* 閣道) that enclosed it.<sup>18</sup> The texts use the word *si* 寺, here meaning monastery.<sup>19</sup>

A five-story pagoda with a golden *chattra* so high that it could be ascended for a view of the city Pingjin 平晉 is recorded for the year 342 in *Shui jing zhu* 水經注.<sup>20</sup> Also in the fourth century, Dao'an 道安 (circa 312–385) oversaw the erection of a monastery that had a five-story pagoda.<sup>21</sup> His disciples, Huiyong 慧勇 and Huiyuan 慧遠, built meditational halls at late fourth-century monasteries.<sup>22</sup> In the year 433, the monk Jiabamo 伽跋摩 saw a three-story pagoda at Pinglu 平路 Monastery in the capital that had been constructed a decade earlier.<sup>23</sup> Yongning 永寧 Monastery in the Northern Wei capital at Pingcheng 平城 (Datong) had a seven-story pagoda built by the emperor in 452 that is said to have risen more than three hundred *chi* 尺.<sup>24</sup>

Beginning in the fourth century, records also inform us of adjacent complexes, each with its own pagoda. In the last part of the fourth century, the monk Huida 惠達 added a pagoda to the west of one that had been built by Emperor Wendi 文帝 in Jiankang. In 391, Emperor Xiaowu 孝武 increased its size to three stories.<sup>25</sup> At Xianggong 湘宮 Monastery in the south, there had been a seven-story pagoda that the emperor wanted to see rise to ten stories. When this turned out to be structurally impossible, he had it divided into two monasteries, each with a five-story pagoda.<sup>26</sup> Thus pagodas rose as high as nine stories, were either prominent in their monasteries or in pairs, and often were wooden. None of the descriptions is inconsistent with the famous pagodas at Songyue and Shentong monasteries.

Through descriptions of pagodas, the texts afford a glimpse at other Buddhist architecture. According to *Wei shu*, in 398, a five-story pagoda, Xumishan 須彌山 [Mount Sumeru] *dian* 殿 (perhaps a hall with a Buddhist altar inside), both heavily decorated structures, and lecture hall, meditational hall, and monk's seat (*shamen zuo* 沙門座) were built at a monastery by the Northern Wei emperor Daowudi 道武帝, presumably in Pingcheng.<sup>27</sup> A stele now in Beilin 碑林 Museum in Xi'an records that in 488, Huifu 暉福 Monastery had two three-story pagodas, a hall for preaching Buddhist law (*Fatang* 法堂), monks' residences, and connective arcades (*getong* 閣通).<sup>28</sup> Toutuosi 頭陀寺 in Ezhou 鄂州 had multitiered kiosks (*cengxie* 層榭) and pavilions that soared (*feige* 飛閣).<sup>29</sup> One would like to assume that each different architectural term for a tall building refers to a different building type, but it is impossible to be certain that the biographer of a monk or author of a historical or descriptive text was as careful about his language as are we who interpret it. If a *ge* 閣 soared in the monastery in Erzhou before the year 500, it is significant, for the earliest extant *ge* in China is the Guanyin 觀音 Pavilion of Dule 獨樂 Monastery, dated 984.<sup>30</sup>

In 520, Liang Wudi 梁武帝 repaired monasteries for his parents, one with thirty-six *yuan* 院 (precincts, or subtemples) and one with a seven-story pagoda, a main hall with eight golden images, and lecture halls for the more than five hundred

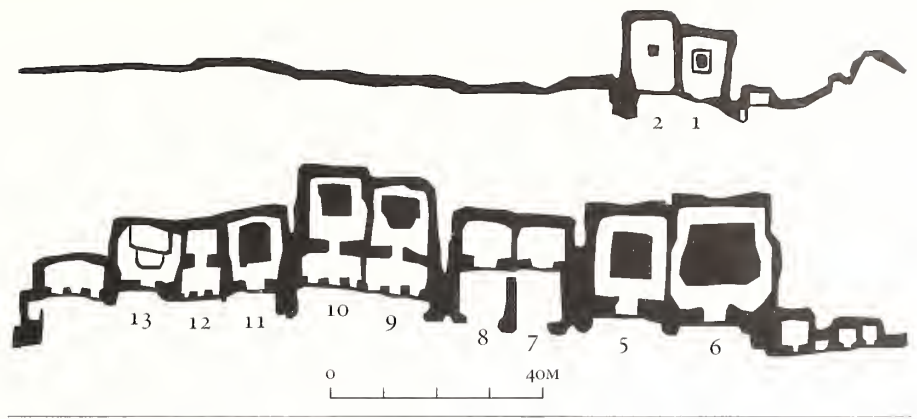
nuns.<sup>31</sup> Tongtaisi 同泰寺, also in Jiankang, in the period 520–27, had a nine-story pagoda, as well as six large halls (*dian* 殿), more than ten smaller halls (*xiaodian* 小殿 or *tang* 堂), meditational rooms, three-story east and west platforms, trees, other plantings, and a pond. It took more than ten years to complete, only to be destroyed by an earthquake.<sup>32</sup> The monastery Hedongsi 河東寺 had several tens of thousands of monks associated with it around the year 600 and could hold as many as one thousand among its ten subtemples, each of which contained numerous platforms for expounding the doctrine, about ten thousand bays of buildings in all.<sup>33</sup> (Da)baozhuangyan (大)寶莊嚴 Monastery Reliquary Pagoda was built by the monk Tanyu 曇裕 in Guangzhou in 537. It stood in front of a (Buddha) hall.<sup>34</sup> The imperial monastery Daoyinsi in Jiangling 江陵 had the same arrangement. Its Buddha hall was five bays across the front with additional side projections, and the pagoda in front had five stories.<sup>35</sup>

With nothing remaining of any of these monasteries, one has no way to judge if the details are exaggerated. Yet pagodas, Buddha halls, lecture halls, and monks' quarters are mentioned consistently, and the locations of hall and pagodas are specified. A pagoda in front of the hall and two pagodas are the dominant arrangements. The four building types are seen in Japan's earliest monasteries with wooden architectural remains. As we shall see below, excavation and study of sixth-century Chinese building sites emphasizes the importance of the pagoda and seem to confirm both configurations. Evidence of alternate arrangements long known in Japan and now known in Korea still cannot be found in China. Such plans are not described in texts, either.

A final passage from a Chinese source is noteworthy. When Liang Wudi visited Ayuwang 阿育王 (Asoka) Monastery in 523, he built two pagodas, each with precious relics. Su Bai refers to them as twin pagodas (*shuangta* 雙塔), but there is no evidence in the text that they were an identical or even a similar pair.<sup>36</sup> The beginnings of twin pagodas in China could have been the result of construction of one pagoda that was too tall to support itself, as mentioned above, or it could have been a concept derived from pairing in Buddhist cave architecture. Both configurations recorded in Chinese texts, a single pagoda or a pair, may mimic the arrangement of space in cave-temples constructed about the same time the texts were written. The rock-carved spaces also may inform us about the locations of Buddha halls with respect to pagodas.

### Planned Space in China in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries

The eleven caves shown in figure 4 were excavated at Yungang 雲岡, near the Pingcheng capital, between 465 and 494, the year the Northern Wei capital was moved from Pingcheng to Luoyang.<sup>37</sup> Among them were four arrangements: single



4

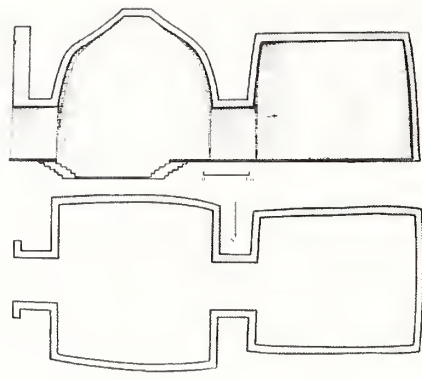
4  
Plans of eleven caves, including four pairs, Yungang, Shanxi province, fifth century. Source with permission *Artibus Asiae* 28, no. 4 (1966), p. 249.

chamber with a central pillar (caves 1, 2, 5, 6, and 11); single chamber with an altar along the back wall (cave 13); front and back chambers joined by a narrow corridor with a central pillar in the back chamber (caves 9 and 10); and front and back chambers similarly connected by a corridor without an interior structure in any of the rooms (caves 7, 8, and 12).

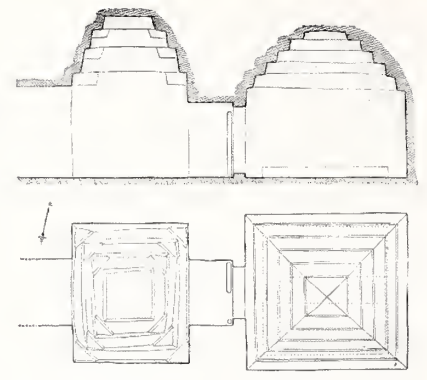
The same arrangements were in place in caves across China at the same time. Before the end of the fifth century, the Mogao 莫高 caves at Dunhuang 敦煌, Gansu province, were replete with examples of single-chamber caves with central pillars and a few cave-temples with two chambers and a central pillar in the back room. On the other side of China, the much smaller Wanfotang 萬佛堂 site in Yixian 義縣, Liaoning, similarly includes the single chamber with a central pillar and two-chamber configurations.<sup>38</sup> A feature of the formation in cave-temples observed by Alexander Soper may be extremely important in decisions about constructing in twos, more generally. Soper equates the coupled caves with imperial patrons, usually husbands and wives.<sup>39</sup> The pairing is not as evident at the Dunhuang or Yixian sites, even though the Yixian caves were initiated by Northern Wei imperial patronage.

The two plans with central pillars are particularly significant because the pagoda, or its central pillar surrogate, is a symbol of the death of the historical Buddha.<sup>40</sup> Turning from the plans of Buddhist worship spaces carved into rock to monuments carved into the earth, one observes that the spatial arrangements of the cave-temples are found in tombs. Single-chamber tombs of China are too numerous to need documentation. The double-room tombs are more interesting because not only is the burial in the back chamber, the location of the central pillar symbolizing Buddhist death in caves, the configuration of the two-chamber tomb joined by a short corridor is found from Jiuquan 酒泉 in Gansu in the west to the territory of the Koguryŏ kingdom in Jilin and North Korea in the east and in central China in the Datong region in the fifth and sixth centuries, in other words, in the same locations as contemporary cave-temples (figs. 5 and 6).<sup>41</sup> We shall see below that the two-chamber plan has an additional application underground. As for the third plan, the paired caves, it finds its counterpart in paired burials across China from late Eastern Han through approximately the fifth century (fig. 7).<sup>42</sup> Only occasionally does one find explicit Buddhist symbolism in Chinese tombs. However, the location of the burial corresponds to the placement of the pagoda (or pagoda-pillar), symbol of the Buddha's death, in a cave-temple.





5



6

5  
Plan and section of Dingjiazha Tomb 5, Jiuquan county, Gansu province, ca. 400. From Gansusheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo, *Jiuquan Shiliuguonmu bishu*, p. 3.

6  
Plan and section of Changchuan Tomb 1, Ji'an county, Jilin province, ca. 5th century. From *Dongbei kaogu yu lishi*, p. 155.



7  
Paired tombs in Xianshichi, Linyi, Shandong province, Jin (265–316). From Guojia Wenwuju, 2003 *Zhongguo zhongyao kaogu faxian*, p. 109.

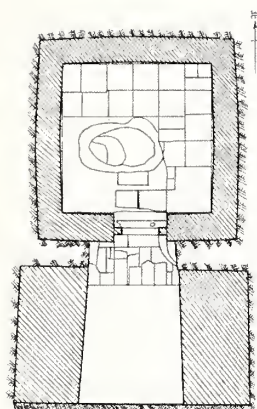
The three cave-temple plans with pagoda-pillars, and thus tombs as well, also appear to share the spaces of Buddhist monasteries described above. The pillar-pagoda would correspond to the freestanding pagoda in a monastery. A worship hall on line with a pagoda can be seen as the antechamber of the cave-temple with the pagoda space behind it. The third type, paired pagodas, although mentioned in texts, is not known in monastery remains in China before the Sui dynasty. We shall see its importance in the sixth and seventh centuries in Korea and Japan.

The pagoda of Yongningsi 永寧寺, according to *Luoyang qielan ji*, was the most spectacular landmark in Luoyang.<sup>43</sup> Built by order of Empress Dowager Hu 胡 in 516 and burned to the ground in 534, the site was excavated over a fifteen-year period in the late twentieth century. One reads that there were more than a thousand monks' courtyards, with single- and multi-story halls, courtyards, and stairs, painted in blue and with carved windows, located amid greenery so that in entirety even the Great Hall on Mount Sumeru and the Palace of Purity in the Tusita Heaven were no match for it. One has no reason to doubt that the empress's monastery would have been vast and beautiful, but we know nothing specific about its layout beyond the central core where the pagoda was preeminent.

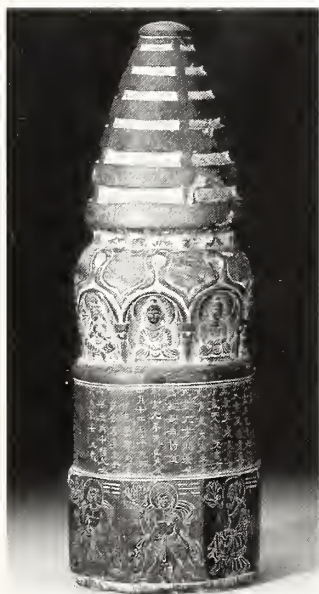
According to Yang Xuanzhi's text, the wooden tower was four-sided and rose nine stories to a height of ninety *zhang* 丈.<sup>44</sup> The *chattra* added another ten *zhang* to its height. Chains from which hung golden bells joined the *chattra* to the pagoda. Each story of the pagoda had its own roof with a total of 120 bells suspended from the nine of them. The pagoda was visible fifty kilometers from the capital and on windy nights the bells could be heard more than five kilometers away.<sup>45</sup> Today, only a quadrilateral earthen mound about 38.2-meters-square remains at the site. Based on the text and the size of the mound, there is little doubt Yongningsi's pagoda towered at the center of the monastery.<sup>46</sup>

In 2002, remains of a pounded earth platform, about forty-five meters square and 4.5 meters in height, were excavated 1,300 meters south of wall remains of the Eastern Wei 魏 (534–50)–Northern Qi city of Ye, beyond Zhuming 朱明 Gate.<sup>47</sup> It supported a pagoda of about thirty meters square. So far, this pagoda has not been associated with a monastery described in *Yezhong ji* 鄴中記 or other texts.<sup>48</sup> Smaller than Yongningsi, but nevertheless large in base dimensions and probably height, it should have had the status and monumentality in Eastern Wei and Northern Qi Ye that Yongningsi held in Northern Wei Luoyang. Assuming it was built by the ruling family, it might survive from Daxingshengsi 大興聖寺, a monastery in Ye recorded in Gu Yanwu's 顧炎武 study of imperial cities through history, *Lidai*





8  
Plan of *digong* of Songyue Monastery  
pagoda. From *Wenwu*, no. 1 (1992),  
p. 14.



9  
Stone stupa in Jiuquan City Museum,  
Northern Liang, excavated in 1967.  
From *Jiuquan wenwu jingcui*, p. 109.

*diwang zhaijing ji* 歷代帝王宅京記, constructed by imperial order in the second year of Wuchengdi's 武成帝 reign, or 562.<sup>49</sup> Today the pagoda is called Zhao-pengcheng 趙彭城 Pagoda after the town where it stands.

As mentioned at the beginning, the only towering pagoda that survives is at Songyue Monastery, dated 523 (see fig. 1). It is also the only dodecagonal structure in China. Its smooth plaster exterior is evidence of extensive repairs conducted in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.<sup>50</sup>

### Three Pagodas

The Songyuesi pagoda is the earliest freestanding example of *miyan* 密檐 (closely piled eaves)-style pagoda architecture. Its fifteen layers span more than twenty meters of the 39.8-meter structure. Beginning at ground level, there is a twelve-sided platform, then a shaft of about ten meters, and then another twelve-sided section marked by four large horseshoe-shaped entrances at the four cardinal directions and eight smaller, similarly shaped entries. The faces are divided by replicas of octagonal columns with lotus-shaped bases and capitals. The fifteen *miyan* layers have window frames flanking each prominent entrance, but not actual windows.<sup>51</sup> The *chat-tra* mounted on a lotus pedestal resembles a miniature pagoda. Replicas of bracket sets and other architectural features originally decorated each level of each face.

It is believed that the pagoda originally opened on all four sides, but by the 1930s access was possible only from the south and east, with the eastern access blocked.<sup>52</sup> Inside, only the first-story interior was dodecagonal; each subsequent story inside was an octagon.

From a stele at the site and *Wei shu*, we know that in 484 there was a Buddhist monastery on the grounds.<sup>53</sup> Xuanwudi 宣武帝 of Northern Wei built a detached palace at this location during the Yongping 永平 reign period (508–11).<sup>54</sup> In 520, the monastery was expanded and Emperor Xiaomingdi 孝明帝 inscribed its name on a placard.<sup>55</sup> The emperor would have been only nine years old at the time, suggesting that his mother, Empress Dowager Hu, the same woman who had sponsored construction of Yongningsi, was a major force behind the repairs. Internal political strife, including murders at court, caused the work to stop, but in 523, when the dowager returned to her position of power, work began again. Thus 523 is usually considered the construction date. When Tang emperor Gaozong 高宗 (reigned 650–84) visited, a seven-Buddha hall, two other halls, and a tower stood there. Tang Zhongzong 中宗 (reigned 684 and 705–10) built a western meditational precinct, and at that time a thirteen-story pagoda for a monk, presumably a small funerary pagoda, was also there.<sup>56</sup> All those buildings are gone.

During repair work of the 1980s, a *digong* 地宮, literally “underground palace,” was found.<sup>57</sup> It is not known when the practice of *digong* beneath pagodas began.



10



11

10  
Visnu temple, Deogarh, Uttar Pradesh, 5th–6th century. Photo by and published courtesy of Michael Meister.

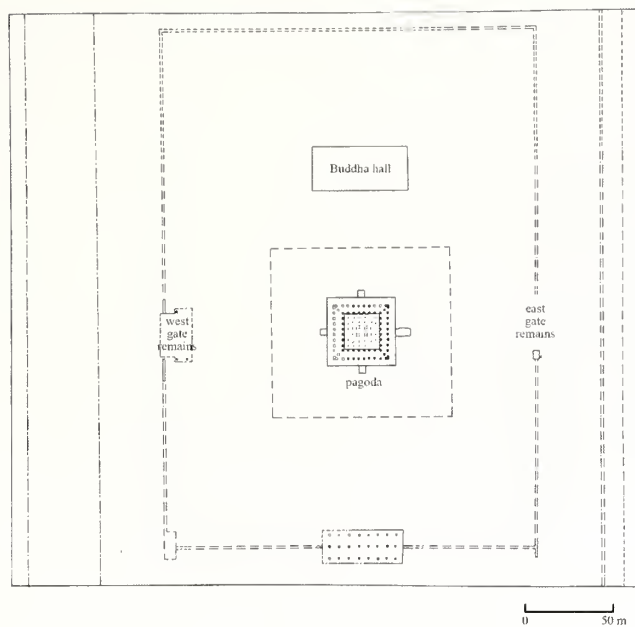
11  
Relief carving of pagodas from Baoshan cliffs, Henan province, 6th century. Photo by William Steinhardt.

One was discovered under the mid-sixth century pagoda at Ye.<sup>58</sup> The Songyuesi pagoda *digong* is a two-chamber space entered from the south side of the base. Its plan is similar to those of cave-temples from Dunhuang to Yungang and tombs from Jiuquan to the Koguryō kingdom (fig. 8 and see figs. 4, 5, and 6). The two-chamber plan that dominated fifth- and sixth-century cave-temple and funerary spaces thus was used in a *digong* at the same time. On the walls of the *digong* one finds inverted V-shaped braces alternating with single-tier bracket sets. We shall see that these braces, used here to recreate a temple or residential environment, are also employed in other sixth-century architecture discussed below (see fig. 15). The space beneath the pagoda, then, appears to be more than reliquary storage; the architectural decoration likens it to a temple. Carbon-14 testing yielded a date of 1,560 years  $\pm$  160 for a corner piece of brick, indicating that, like the pagoda reliquary in the Ye capital, the Songyuesi reliquary could have been dug when the pagoda was constructed.<sup>59</sup> Xiao Mo suggests that treasures could have entered during anti-Buddhist persecutions under Northern Zhou Wudi 武帝 (reigned 561–77) and/or during the Tang reign of the Wuzong 武宗 emperor (reigned 841–46).<sup>60</sup>

The unique form of the Songyuesi pagoda may be evidence that Chinese builders attempted to construct an Indian stupa, but the closest they could come to a circular exterior was by using twelve segments.<sup>61</sup> If this is true, then it suggests the veracity of the passage from *Wei shu* quoted above, that builders of pagodas followed Indian models. Perhaps the dowager empress commissioned a four-sided, nine-story, timber-frame pagoda that reflected Chinese construction in the Northern Wei capital, whereas for a towering monument on a sacred peak a circular structure was sought. In the sixth century, the twelve-sided building is unique, and even eight-sided architecture, as we shall see below, was rare at that time. Possible Chinese precursors would be Biyong 辟雍 or Mingtang 明堂.<sup>62</sup> Or perhaps the pagoda on Mount Song was fashioned after miniature stone pagodas of the Northern Liang kingdom (397–439) that would have been carried eastward (fig. 9).<sup>63</sup>

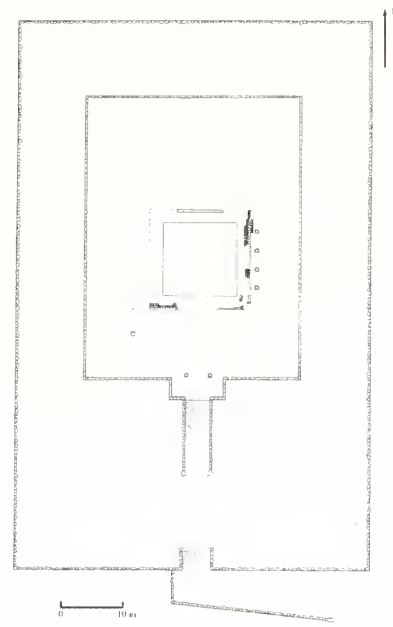
For the other sixth-century pagodas have square groundplans. Simenta is a central pillar, granite structure accessible, as its name tells us, from all sides (see fig. 2). The monastery of which it is a part was established in 351 by the monk Langgong 朗公.<sup>64</sup> An inscription inside dated 544 and signed by image carver Yang Xianshu 楊顯叔 at one time was believed to be the date of the pagoda, but during repairs of 1972 the year 611 was found carved into a brick.





12

12  
Plan of core of Yongning Monastery, Luoyang, Henan province, early 6th century. Drawn by Sijie Ren.



13

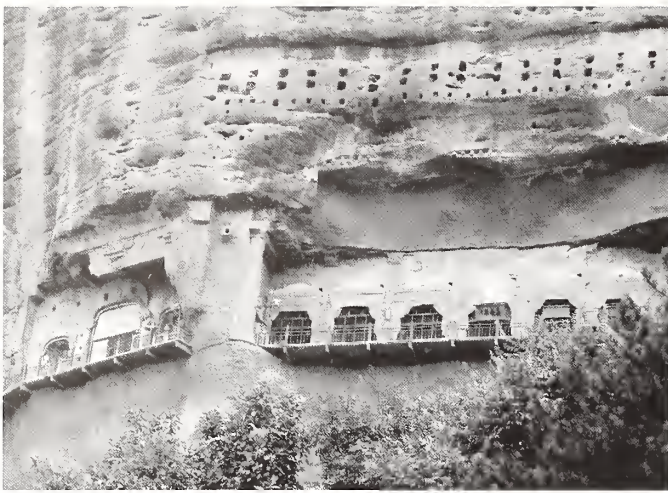
13  
Plan of Siyuan Fo Monastery, Datong, Shanxi province, late 5th century. Drawn by Sijie Ren.



14  
Front pillar of cave 43, Maijishan, Gansu province, 6th century. Photo by Nancy Steinhardt.

The plan and structure of Simenta also invoke architectural sources of India, buildings only slightly earlier than it. The sources are Brahmanical. The Dasavataṛa Temple dedicated to Viṣṇu at Deogarh in Uttar Pradesh, dated to the first half of the sixth century, and the contemporary Pārvaṭī Temple in Nachna-Kuthara, Madhya Pradesh, both in central India, are four-sided buildings with central pillars containing imagery, with one entry, and windows on the other three sides (fig. 10).<sup>65</sup> No earlier buildings in China suggest comparisons. Pagodas in relief on sixth-century rock-carved cliffs in Baoshan 寶山, Anyang county, Henan, are similarly four-sided, with *chattras* whose pinnacles have complicated decorative forms (fig. 11).<sup>66</sup> The formal similarities with Simenta and pagodas carved on the Baoshan cliffs are important reasons why the third pagoda, at Xiuding Monastery, is believed to retain its sixth-century structure (see fig. 3). The first monastery at that site was founded in 494.<sup>67</sup> Xiudingsi was destroyed in 576 during the above-mentioned persecutions of Buddhism by the Northern Zhou emperor Wu. Rebuilding of the four-sided, brick-faced pagoda probably occurred during the reign of Tang Taizong 太宗, between 627 and 650. Thus, all three of China's early pagodas can be traced to South Asian forms, the Songyuesi pagoda to circular stupas and the Simenta-type pagoda to Brahmanical architecture. The first century of extant Buddhist monumental architecture in China thus also suggests that no single pagoda form had been selected.

The monasteries of which the three pagodas were part remain largely unknown. All three had additional buildings, but their dates are post-sixth century, and records only allude to pre-Tang arrangements. Excavated evidence confirms only one monastery plan, the one at China's best excavated monastery, Yongningsi, and shared by plans of cave-temples, tombs, and *digong* (fig. 12). The pagoda is in front of the image hall at Yongningsi, and the pagoda equivalent is behind in the other configurations, but with so little evidence, the two structures on a line should not be ruled out as an implementation of the fundamental plan of pagoda and Buddha hall on a line behind a main entry.



15

15  
Front facade, cave 4, Maijishan,  
Northern Wei period. Photo by  
Nancy Steinhardt.



16

16  
Detail of ceiling of cave 4, Maijishan,  
showing pumpkin-shaped decoration  
at joints of ceiling ridges, Northern  
Wei period. Photo by Nancy  
Steinhardt.



17

17  
Detail of interior of cave 3, Maijishan,  
showing curved beams, Northern  
Wei period. From Fu Xinian,  
"Maijishan shiku," p. 117; published  
with permission.

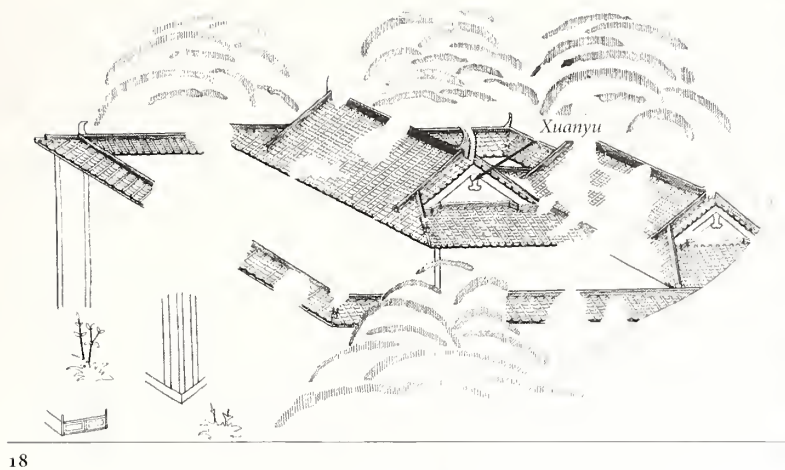
The only other Northern Wei monastery excavated to date, Siyuan Fosi 思遠佛寺 in Datong, dates to the fifth century, before the transfer of the capital to Luoyang in 494. Built due south of Yongguling 永固陵, the tomb of Empress Dowager Wenming 文明, who was laid to rest in 484, the monastery may have been constructed as part of her funerary complex above ground. The site plan indicates that the pagoda was along the central axis of the monastery and the only structure of significant size (fig. 13). Its prominent centrality was further emphasized by two enclosures. Lacking descriptive records, so far its height has not been estimated.<sup>68</sup> It is believed that a Buddha hall stood behind the pagoda to the west and behind it were monks' quarters. The early sixth-century monastery, represented by Yongningsi, would then be a transitional scheme in which a hall for images was coming to share space with the dominant pagoda.

Remains of pagodas dated second-to-fourth century south of the Taklamakan desert in Loulan 樓蘭, Miran 米蘭, Endere (Anda'er 安迪爾), Niya 尼雅, and Rewak (Rawak, Rewake 熱瓦克) suggest that they too were the major monuments in their monasteries.<sup>69</sup> Archaeological evidence in China now confirms the centrality of the pagoda in its monastery by the fifth century, and by the sixth century, that a Buddha hall might be on line with it. The two schemes reflect those of pagoda or corpse in a one-room cave-temple or tomb, and pagoda or corpse in one chamber and a second chamber, in a line with each other, in the same concealed spaces. As we shall see, replications of architectural features further support, if not confirm, a shared building tradition widespread in sixth-century China.

### Shared Structural Details

Architectural detail can be found on almost any surface in China. The grottoes at Maijishan are extremely informative for the study of details of timber-frame architecture.<sup>70</sup> The exterior façade of cave 43, for example, exhibits octagonal pillars with emphatic edges and owls' tail decoration (*chiwei* 鴟尾) (fig. 14).<sup>71</sup> Parallel roof rafters are found on the façade of cave 4, a seven-bay, hipped-roof structure with a one-bay-deep porch in front, and inside that cave, decorative "balls" are placed at the joining points of imitation beams that frame the ceiling (figs. 15 and 16). This last feature is distinctive at Maijishan.<sup>72</sup> Cave 15 has a triangular roof truss at each end but no kingpost. This is important because there is a kingpost in the roof truss





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Line-drawing of mural from cave 140, Maijishan, showing *xuanyu*. Drawing by Fu Xinian; published with permission.

19

Truncated pyramidal ceiling from Xiaonanhai, Anyang county, Henan province, Northern Qi period. Photo by William Steinhardt.

20

Domed ceiling from Simsim, Xinjiang Autonomous Region, ca. 6th century. Photo by Nancy Steinhardt.

of the above-mentioned Nanchan Monastery main hall of 782 and in the main hall of Tiantai 天台 Hermitage, a Tang building dated to the early ninth century.<sup>73</sup> Cave 3 has a curved beam (*yueliang* 月梁 or *hongliang* 虹梁), another feature otherwise not documented in extant wooden architecture until the eighth and ninth centuries, with the Kondō 金堂 of the Japanese monastery Tōshōdaiji 唐招提寺, dated 756, and the East Hall of Foguang Monastery the earliest extant wooden evidence (fig. 17). The East Hall also has no kingpost in its truss.<sup>74</sup> Another feature in cave 3 is the *timu* 替木, or cushion-brace. Finally, in cave 127 one sees the *xuanyu* 懸魚 (“suspended fish,” also found in Japanese architecture and known in Japanese as *gegyo*) (fig. 18). We shall observe the *timu* in other examples of sixth-century architecture. Except for the *timu*, imitation timber framing inside and on the facades of Maijishan caves provides evidence of structural features not known in wooden architecture for two to three centuries.

The cave-temples are equally informative about ceiling structure. Two types dominate. One is the truncated pyramid, found in Western Wei cave 127 at Maijishan, and in sixth-century cave-temples to the east built under Northern Qi patronage at Xiangtangshan 響堂山 in southern Hebei. This type is also in Anyang county, Henan, at Xiaonanhai 小南海 and Dazhusheng 大住聖, and in many Mogao caves, including 285 and 249 (fig. 19).<sup>75</sup> The second is the dome (fig. 20).<sup>76</sup>

Except for ceilings, many building components observed in sixth-century caves are found in sarcophaguses fashioned in the shapes of buildings or on funerary





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Ning Mao sarcophagus, 529. *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* 40, no. 242 (1942), p. 121, fig 2.21.



22

22

Pottery structure uncovered in tomb in Henan province, Sui period. Henan Provincial Museum, Luoyang. From *Ancient Chinese Architecture*, p. 57.

beds.<sup>77</sup> There are six excellent examples. The earliest belonged to Ning Mao 寧懋, said to come from Luoyang, who died in 527.<sup>78</sup> The structure consists of the three distinct sections of a standard Chinese building: elevation platform, weight-bearing pillars and non-weight-bearing walls, and ceramic-tile roof; and the three sections of any standard Chinese wooden frame building: pillar layer, bracket-set layer, and roof frame. The roof is noteworthy: an eave emerges from a main ridgepole and hangs over the front and back walls. Rafters also emanate from roof ridges on the sides, so that decorative end tiles appear on all four sides. The above-mentioned inverted V-shaped struts are present above an imitation beam at the top (fig. 21).

A pottery structure found in a Sui tomb in Henan with similar short rafters projecting perpendicular to front and back roof ridges and more curving ridges along the front and back roof supports the idea that architectural features are decorative when used in small-scale. Still, they are specific and therefore can offer relevant information about the wooden building parts after which they are fashioned. Here we observe eight-sided pillars lodged into lotus-patterned pilasters and decorated with bands from which lotus petals emerge from each side as well as eave end tiles decorated with lotus patterns. We also observe exceptionally long bracket arms that project above tiny, decorative, single-step bracket sets to support the roof under-eaves. Those cap-and-block bracket sets, the kind seen in cave-temple details of the fifth and sixth centuries, atop the pillars and under the long arms, are accurately rendered but illogically placed (fig. 22).

Better evidence of sixth-century wood joinery comes from the sarcophagus of a Xianbei official of the Northern Qi, Shedi Huiluo 厓狄回洛, who died in Ye during the second moon of 562 and was buried with his wife twelve months later. Among its pieces found in the tomb are plinths, cap blocks, bracket arms, and cushion braces (*queti* 雀替) with floriated decorative molding at the ends (fig. 23). As in the pottery structure, there is no evidence that tiebeams extended through the bracket sets to interlock with the columns. Bracketing is single step with three separate blocks, inverted V-shaped braces were positioned on a lintel above the façade, and there was a hip-gable roof.<sup>79</sup>

The stone sarcophagus of Master Shi 史 (Shijun) who died in Xi'an in 579 also is important.<sup>80</sup> On it, the bracket sets above columns on all four sides are two-tier, but as in other sarcophaguses, they interlock. Bracket arms have decorative molding around their outer sides, cap blocks that do not interlock columns, and additional



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23  
Wooden pieces from sarcophagus of Shedi Huiluo, Taiyuan, Shanxi province, 562. Shanxi Provincial Museum. Photo by Nancy Steinhardt.

24  
Shijun sarcophagus, 579. Excavated in Xi'an. From *Wenwu*, no. 3 (2005), p. 24.



25  
Detail, An Qie funerary couch, showing Chinese structure with inverted-V-shaped braces and single-step bracket sets. Excavated in Xi'an. From *Wenwu*, no. 1 (2001), p. 19.

plates, pieces known as *mindou* 𠂔斗 (fig. 24). A search for these details takes us to the western wall of Mogao cave 314, dated Sui. There, one finds two sets of roof rafters and the additional decorative roof ridges observed in the Ning Mao sarcophagus and pottery building. In Mogao cave painting, neither the two-step bracket set nor the *mindou* below the bracket-set block appears until the Tang period.<sup>81</sup> It is unlikely that craftsmen came up with the original idea of adding a step to the bracket sets on the Shi sarcophagus. By the year 857, we find bracket arms with four steps in the eminent East Hall of Foguang Monastery. The other three Tang buildings have single-tier bracket sets. Knowing that rank is associated with structural complexity, we should view the Shi sarcophagus as an example of an eminent building, a contrast emphasized by comparison with the Ning Mao and Shedi Huiluo coffins. The *mindou* is seen in Japanese architecture of the seventh century, discussed below.

The other stone sarcophagus, belonging to Yu Hong 虞弘, is not as pertinent to the study of architectural features, but one funerary bed is.<sup>82</sup> It belonged to An Qie 安伽, who died in 572 and was buried in Xi'an.<sup>83</sup> The structures on this final resting place for his corpse range from timber framed to cloth tent. Chinese-style architecture includes the alternating single-step bracket sets and inverted V-shaped braces observed in the façade of Maijishan cave 15, the façade of Tianlongshan 天龍山 cave 16 near Taiyuan, Shanxi, dated to the sixth century,<sup>84</sup> and the Ning Mao and Master Shi sarcophaguses as well two sets of roof rafters, the lower, circular in section and the upper, four-sided in section (fig. 25).

The final major monument of China's sixth century is Yicihui zhu 柱, literally, "pillar of righteousness, kindness, and beneficence." Rising approximately 6.6 meters in Dingxing 定興 county in Hebei, in a village today named for it (Shizhucun 石柱村 [Stone Pillar Village]), Yicihui Pillar was erected in the autumn of 570 to commend pious relief efforts in an age of chaos forty-five years earlier (fig. 26).<sup>85</sup> The structure at its top is considered here in relation to other architecture in miniature.

The years 525 to 528 witnessed the relocation of populations of north China and slaying, execution, destruction, and other tragedy. Dingxing suffered horrendously. When calm was restored, seven men gathered the human remains and gave them proper burial. This was the initial act of kindness. Thereafter, acts of human beneficence increased almost daily, giving way to a society of aid for Buddhist believers. In 552, a pagoda and Buddhist halls were constructed. Courtyards were rebuilt, and monks' quarters were expanded. Even as life became more threatened, efforts to help the population increased. In 559, a local official presented a memorial to





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Yicahui Pillar, Shizhucun, Dingxing county, Hebei province, 570. Photo by William Steinhardt.



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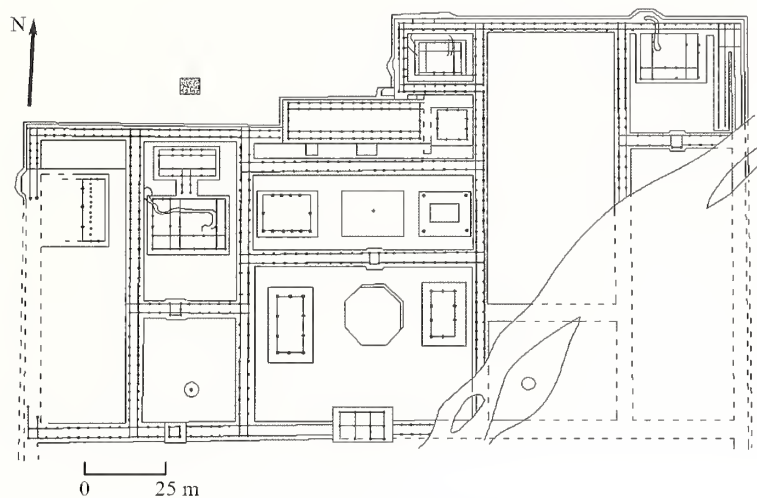
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Shrine with Buddha image atop Yicahui Pillar. Photo by William Steinhardt.

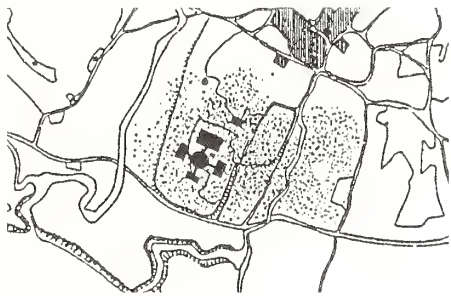
the emperor requesting that this group be praised and commended. In 562, the secretariat carved a placard and erected a pillar of commendation. The next year, a temporary wooden pillar was raised, and then in 567, it was replaced with the stone column that stands today.

The pillar rises on a squarish podium about thirty centimeters high. Like pillars of Maijishan façades, it is eight-sided but not octagonal. At the top of the nearly five-meter stretch is another base, 1.26 by 1.05 meters and twenty-eight centimeters high, that supports a three-by-two-bay structure about seventy-nine by sixty-nine centimeters at the base with a four-slope roof (fig. 27). Its floorboard is positioned right on the base. The pillars have clear evidence of entasis. They rise about thirty-five centimeters. Each pillar has a cap-block supporting a plate above it, but there are no bracket sets. Across the top are a tiebeam that penetrates the columns, an architrave, a column-top tiebeam, and a brace that cushions the roof frame (*timu*). At its ends, the decorative molding has the same pattern that is on the cushion braces of Shedi Huiluo's sarcophagus. The roof structure is remarkably detailed. Two sets of rafters, upper and lower, four-sided and circular-sectioned, have been carved in the stone. The lower set is decorated. And there are decorated imitation ceramic roof tiles whose curves help protect a building from rain. All eave rafters are parallel. The Buddha sits in the open niche beneath a *chaitya* (pointed, horse-shoe-shaped)-style arch, a feature one finds in sixth-century painting and in relief at Maijishan, Tianlongshan, and Dunhuang (see figs. 27 and 15).

Thus freestanding pagodas, murals, facsimiles of timber-frame architecture in relief, small-scale structures including sarcophaguses, and the Yicahui Pillar provide our image of sixth-century Chinese architecture. For the monastery plan, we rely on excavations from Siyuan Fosi, Yongningsi, and Zhaopengcheng, on written records, and a Sui site discussed below. From Korea, there is less evidence in painting, relief, or miniature,<sup>86</sup> but monastery plans from all three kingdoms provide important information about what might have existed in China.



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Plan of Chōngnūngsa, P'yōngyang  
vicinity, ca. 5th century. Drawn by  
Sijie Ren.

29

Plan of Kūmgangsa, P'yōngyang.  
From Chōsen Sōtofuku and Chōsen  
Koseki Kenkyūkai, *Showa jusanendo*  
*koseki chōsahyō*, pl. 2.

### Korean Monasteries of the Fifth to Seventh Century

Excavation is one of the most reliable sources of information about early Korean monastery plans. Specific plans appear to be associated with each kingdom. For reference, Buddhism came to Koguryō in 372, Paekche in 384, and Silla in 527.

The earliest Koguryō monasteries survive in the vicinity of P'yōngyang where the capital was moved from the Ji'an 吉安 region (today in Jilin, China) in 427. The two most extensively excavated monasteries are similar. Each is focused on an octagonal structure.

Chōngnūngsa/Jeongneungsa 定陵寺 occupies a 223-by-132.5-meter site consisting of thirty-three building foundations that can be divided into five sections. More has been excavated here than at any contemporary Chinese monastery to date (fig. 28).<sup>87</sup> The central focal octagon is believed to be a pagoda foundation, and the halls next to and behind it, Buddha image halls; a lecture hall may have stood behind them. Based on Japanese evidence of monasteries (some of which is discussed below), it has been suggested that bell and drum towers were behind the pair of image halls on either side of the back area and that the hall farthest north may have been the abbot's quarters. West of the main sector is an I-shaped unit, the *gong*-plan, a Chinese configuration used for building complexes of high status.<sup>88</sup> The proposed dates for Chōngnūngsa range from the late fourth to early seventh century. A fifth-century date is given based on its name, Monastery Determined by the Tomb. It has been suggested that the reference is to the nearby tomb of the first ruler of Koguryō from P'yōngyang, King Dongmyōng 東明.





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Chongrimsa today, Puyo, 6th century  
with later restoration. Photo by  
Nancy Steinhardt.

The second Koguryŏ monastery has been identified as Kŭmgangsa/Geumgangsa 金剛寺. If this is true, the site dates to 498.<sup>89</sup> This monastery consisted of a core of four main buildings enclosed by a covered arcade, gates positioned in the arcade south and north of the main building line, and probably a few buildings outside the cloister (fig. 29). The central formation is believed to be a pagoda with Buddha halls at the north, east, and west sides, a more focused version of the Chŏngnŭngsa plan.

Scant remains of two other Koguryŏ monasteries also point to a central octagonal structure and four-sided buildings behind and at its sides. Sangori 上五里, about two kilometers southeast of Kŭmgangsa, shows an octagonal hall flanked by a building on either side. An octagonal foundation with large buildings symmetrically positioned to the east and west, and a larger one due north, also have been uncovered at T'osŏngri/Toseongri 土城里, in Hwanghae 黃海.<sup>90</sup>

Seven monastery sites are associated with the Paekche kingdom, the earliest dated to the late 520s and the last to shortly before Paekche's fall to Silla. All the architecture postdates the transfer of the capital to Ungchin/Ungjin 熊津 (modern Kŏngju/Gongju 公州) in 475. The move southward was due to encroachment by Koguryŏ, which could mean that the architecture of the enemy was known to Paekche. All seven have a south gate, pagoda, image hall, and lecture hall in a line, the gate and lecture hall attached to an enclosing arcade. Twin structures may stand at the back corners.

Daet(')ongsa 大通寺 and five more extensively excavated monasteries—Gun-suri 軍守里, Kŭmgangsa/Geumgangsa 金剛寺, Dongnamri 東南里, Chŏngrimsa/Jongrimsa 定林寺, and Nŭngsa/Neungsa 陵寺—are all near Puyŏ/Buyeo 扶餘 and dated 538–99.<sup>91</sup> Their plans affirm Paekche's reliance on the Yongningsi (fig. 30).<sup>92</sup> As we have seen at Chŏngnŭngsa, the character *nŭng/neung* 陵 means tomb; and Nŭngsa, positioned two hundred meters west of eight royal graves known as Nŭngsanri (Tomb Mountain Site), is named to reflect this location. There is better evidence here that the pagoda was timber than for most other pagodas of Koguryŏ or Paekche because the foundation stones for the central pillar and wooden pieces remain. A granite subterranean reliquary has an inscription informing us that it was laid in 567 by King Widŏk/Wideok 威德.<sup>93</sup>

Chŏngrimsa has four distinctive features: a lotus pond uncovered south of the south entry; clay images that suggest remarkable similarities with statues found



31

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Miruksa site showing rebuilt east pagoda and location of west pagoda under restoration in 2008, Iksan.  
Photo by Nancy Steinhardt.

at Yongningsi; a five-story, 8.85-meter granite pagoda, Paekche's oldest; and an inscription stating that the pagoda was erected to commemorate that Tang China helped Silla to defeat Paekche, meaning that the monastery survived the transition from Paekche to United Silla rule in 668.<sup>94</sup> Some argue the base story of the pagoda survives from the sixth century and the rest is later.

Paekche's most famous monastery is Miruksa/Mireuksa 彌勒寺, dated to the period when the capital was at Iksan 益山, circa 600–660. The vow to construct it was made in 602 by King Mu 武 (reigned 600–641) following a vision he and his wife had on Mount Yonghwa 龍華 in which three images of Maitreya appeared rising out of a pond. Initial excavation by a Japanese team in the late 1930s revealed three courtyards, perhaps one for each of the Buddhas in the imperial dream.<sup>95</sup> Since the mid-1970s, it has been known that Miruksa had three parallel courtyards, the largest in the center.<sup>96</sup> About forty building foundations and two symmetrically located ponds have been uncovered.

The focal courtyard had a squarish pagoda, elevated on a two-layer granite platform, 18.56 meters on each side. It is one of the most copiously studied Korean pagodas. When first investigated, it was believed to have been a nine-story, five-bay square timber structure that rose about forty-five meters. We now know it was three bays square. The name of the builder, Abiji 阿非知, is identified. The pagodas in the side cloisters were stone (fig. 31).

How one assesses the plan of Miruksa is important. One interpretation is that it consists of three parallel subtemples, each with the Yongningsi/Paekche plan. Another is that it is an example of a twin-pagoda monastery, with an additional primary pagoda along the central axis. We already have seen the possible links to arrangements of Buddhist cave-temples and tombs and, based on those associations, to people as well. The pagoda–Buddha hall pair, the Yongningsi/Paekche plan, is associated with two-chamber cave-temples, tombs, and *digong*. As for a triple pagoda–hall scheme, the Binyang 賓陽 caves at Longmen 龍門 also are a triad. They are associated with a son and parents.<sup>97</sup> Miruksa's pagodas may be similarly associated, with the ruler Mu, his wife, and their son Ŭija/Uija 義慈王 (reigned 641–60), who succeeded him as, it turned out, last ruler of Paekche. One can never be certain if the imminence of dynastic collapse was apparent to rulers, but the appearance of Maitreya, the Buddha who would take on the role of Shakyamuni after the termination of the current era, in triplicate, would be significant if





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Wandu mountain-castle, Ji'an county, Jilin province, 4th century. Photo by Nancy Steinhardt.

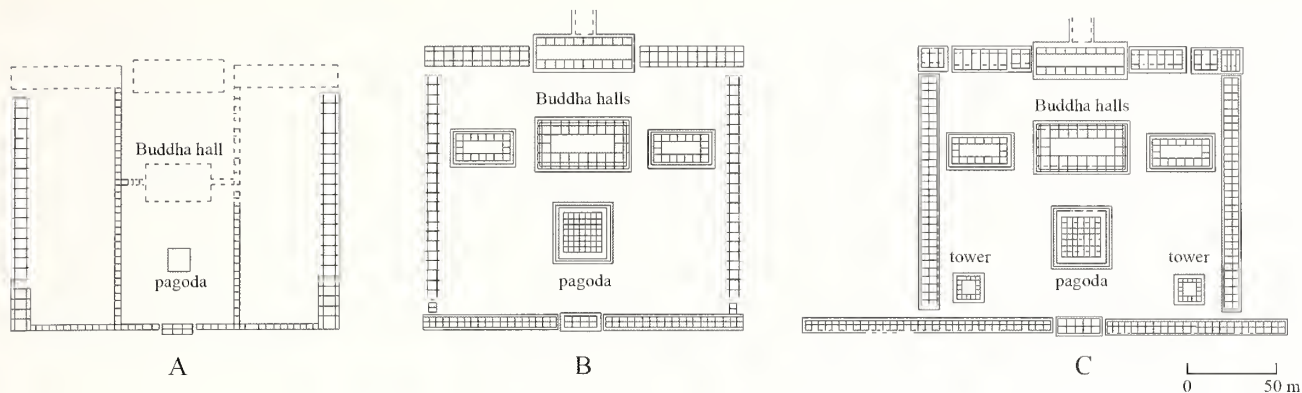
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Octagonal building foundations, Wandu mountain-castle, 4th century. Photo by and published courtesy of Ah-Rim Park.

concerns of his family's end were a consideration. If the side pagodas were twins and the two sixth-century pagodas on Ayuwangshan 阿育王山, mentioned above, were not a pair, Mirŭksa would be a very early example of twin pagodas.

Then there is Silla. Three monasteries represent Buddhist architecture from the founding of the kingdom in 527 to the end of the seventh century. The first is Hŭngnyunsa/Heungnyunsa 興輪寺, founded in 528 and completed in 544.<sup>98</sup> The plan today suggests a roughly symmetrical monastery with a large image hall and a pair of buildings with octagonal ground plans. There is no definite evidence of a pagoda, but two eight-sided buildings may be twin pagodas. Excavation suggests they were made of wood on stone bases. If so, Hŭngnyunsa is stronger evidence than Mirŭksa that monasteries with twin pagodas were constructed in Korea in the sixth century.

Pairs of octagonal buildings constructed by Koguryŏ rulers lead us back more than a century to the mountain castle Wandu 丸都.<sup>99</sup> Located about 2.5 kilometers outside the city limits of Ji'an, the stone wall-enclosed sector of Wandu mountain-castle is one of the most intriguing excavation sites of post-Han, pre-Tang East Asia (fig. 32). Abandoned in the mid-fourth century, the fortified palace is likely to predate the official acceptance of Buddhism in the Koguryŏ kingdom. Excavation through the 2003 season produced a plan suggestive of a palatial core of four rows of buildings. Most intriguing are two octagonal structures in their own precinct (fig. 33). The fourth-century date raises the possibility that the buildings are not Bud-



34  
Three building plans of Hwangnyong Monastery, Kyongju, 553–69, 574–645, and mid-8th century. Drawn by Sijie Ren.

dhist, but no other comparable remains in Korea, China, or Japan are known to help explain their purpose. Nor is there evidence of octagonal tower construction in China or Korea in the fourth century. Even if the fourth century date for the Wandu walled city is accurate, the most logical possibility for the eight-sided buildings is still that they were pagodas, perhaps constructed later than the fourth century.

Hwangnyongsa 皇龍寺 in Kyongju is the most famous Silla monastery and arguably the most important.<sup>100</sup> Initial construction was on a site intended for a palace. The appearance of a yellow dragon gave way to the change in function and the name Hwangnyong (Yellow Dragon) Monastery. Hwangnyongsa's plan at that time followed Yongningsi's, but already there was space for construction to the right and left that could have formed a plan similar to Miruksa's.

The first major change was the addition of a lecture hall behind the main building. A nine-story pagoda stood in the 640s (fig. 34). The date 643 inscribed in foundation stones is consistent with the visit of the monk Chajang/Jajang 慈藏 following study on the sacred Buddhist peak Wutai in 636, where he is said to have met the dragon whose oldest son was the guardian of Hwangnyongsa. According to *Samguk sagi* 三國史記 (Historical record of the Three Kingdoms), the dragon told Chajang that if Silla built a nine-story pagoda, nine districts would come to pay tribute.<sup>101</sup> Queen Sondok/Seondeok 善德 sent to Paekche for advice, and Abiji, the man to whom Miruksa's nine-story wooden pagoda is attributed, was dispatched with two hundred artisans. This human link between two pagodas is unique in East Asian architectural history. Before this, all Silla pagodas are believed to have been stone. The desire to construct a towering wooden monument suggests that it was modeled on the Paekche structure or a different one and, as in China, it was a building type identified with rulers. The nine-story pagoda of Yongningsi is the best example of a prototype in China.

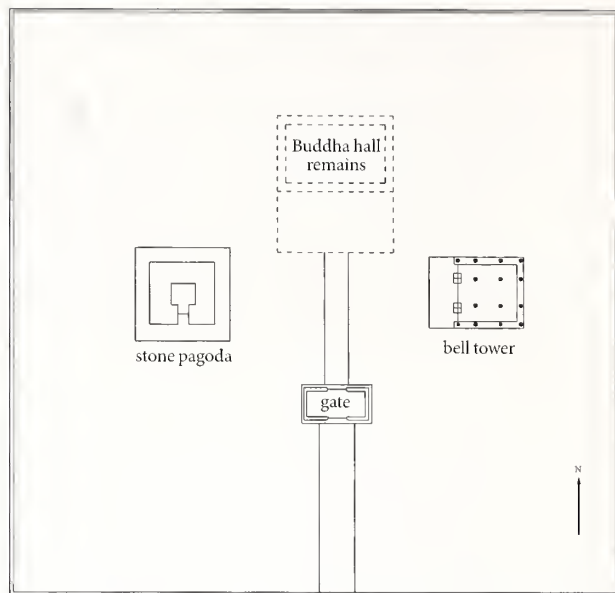
Comparing the heights of the pagodas of Yongningsi and Hwangnyongsa, both known only from descriptions and theoretical reconstructions, the first was nine bays square and rose more than one hundred meters, and the second was seven bays square and just under seventy-five meters in height.<sup>102</sup> The base of Hwangnyongsa pagoda was wooden whereas the foundation of the Yongningsi pagoda was stone, as it was at Miruksa. The plan of Hwangnyongsa also should be considered in relation to Miruksa's. By the first rebuilding of the Silla monastery, 574–645, Buddha halls stood east and west of an enlarged, central Buddha hall. A precise date for the construction of the second and third Buddha halls is relevant to the date of





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35  
Stone pagoda, Bunhwangsa, Kyōngju,  
7th century. Photo by Nancy  
Steinhardt.



36

36  
Reconstruction plan of Kaiyuan  
Monastery, Zhengding, Hebei  
province, in early 8th century. From  
*Wenwu*, no. 7 (2001), p. 14.



37  
Stone pagoda, Kaiyuan Monastery,  
Zhengding, 6th century with  
later restoration. Photo by Nancy  
Steinhardt.

Asukadera 飛鳥寺, discussed below. Around 754, a date on a bell found there, a bell tower was constructed on the eastern side in the front section of the monastery. One assumes that the symmetrical tower on the west was a sutra library.<sup>103</sup>

Hwangnyongsa also may be evidence that nearby monasteries were built in response to each other and perhaps even shared architecture. The relevant structure is the pagoda of Bunhwangsa 芬皇寺, founded in 634.<sup>104</sup> That monastery is several hundred meters behind Hwangnyongsa, with a 390-meter distance between pagodas. Except for the fact that its pagoda is four-sided, the Bunhwangsa plan recalls those of Koguryō: the pagoda is behind an entry gate, and three Buddha halls enclose it to the northeast, northwest, and due north (see figs. 28 and 29). Three stories of a pagoda believed originally to have had nine remain today (fig. 35). The Bunhwangsi pagoda returns us to Chinese monasteries.

Today a pagoda faces south and a pavilion faces west at Kaiyuansi 開元寺 in Zhengding 正定, Hebei province. Founded in 540 and repaired in 898, the monastery had several names before it became Kaiyuansi during the widespread establishment of monasteries in the Kaiyuan 開元 reign period (713–42) of the Tang dynasty.<sup>105</sup> In 1990, a *digong* was uncovered at the bell tower with burial objects dated to the Sui and early Tang periods. Excavators have argued convincingly that the bell tower is a replacement for a pagoda.<sup>106</sup> The proposed reconstruction is one of the best pieces of evidence of a pre-Tang twin pagoda arrangement in China (fig. 36). Without assumptions that in the sixth century Kaiyuan had twin brick pagodas in its front courtyard, evidence of twin pagodas survives beginning in the Tang period, with the pagoda pair at Lingquansi at Baoshan, Henan prefecture.<sup>107</sup> The Tang pagoda at Kaiyuansi has figures inset on either side of the corner of the base of its lowest story, similar to the ones found at the Bunhwangsa pagoda (fig. 37, and see fig. 35). The similar pagodas are reason to believe that pagodas and monastery plans traveled eastward on the East Asian continent.

From Korea, then, at least three sixth-century monastery arrangements have been confirmed by excavation: central pagoda with Buddha halls on three sides; pagoda and hall in a line behind a main gate; and twin pagodas. Furthermore,

each kingdom appears to have had a preferred monastery plan: Koguryō, the first; Paekche, the second, and its most complex monastery, Miruksa, three parallel sections of this type or perhaps twin pagodas; and Silla, twin pagodas.<sup>108</sup> In each kingdom, religious space was dominated by pagodas and halls for Buddhist images. Pagodas were wooden, brick, and stone, but none of the first type survives. Octagonal construction was important in Koguryō. Although logic tells us that China should have had all three plans, we can be certain only about one of them before the seventh century: hall and pagoda on the main axial line of the monastery.

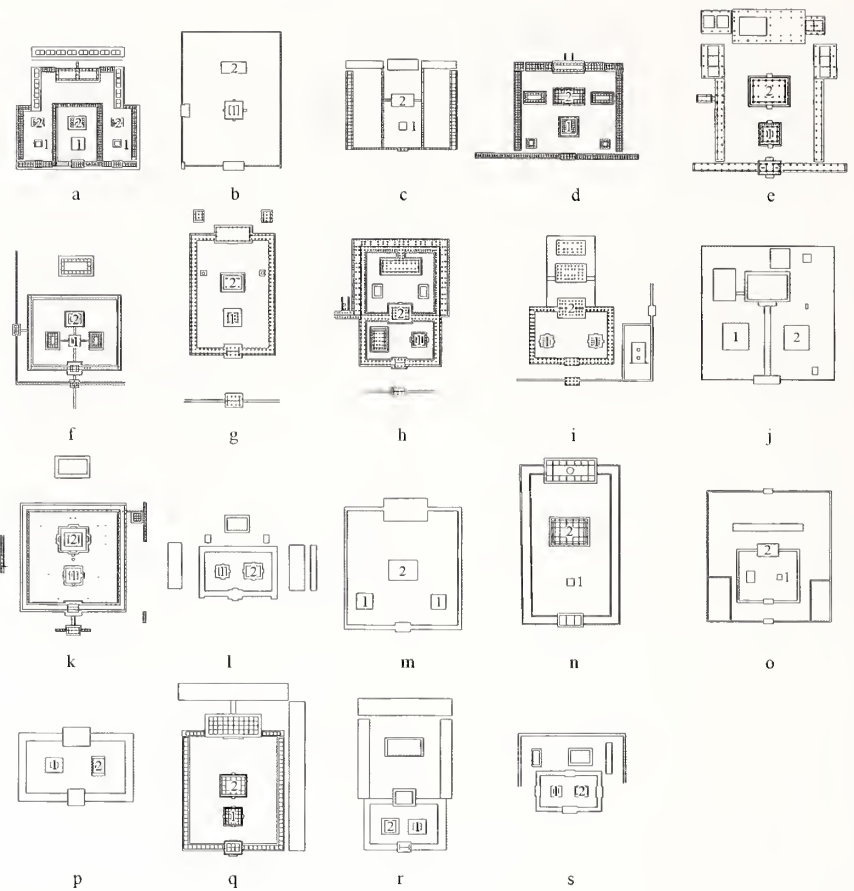
### Japan's Earliest Buddhist Architecture

There is no question either that Buddhism was introduced to Japan from continental East Asia or that it came to the Japanese islands as an organized, coherent system or systems as many as five hundred years later than it flourished, at least in pockets, in China. Officially Buddhism came to Japan through the presentation of an image from the king of Paekche in 538.<sup>109</sup>

All three Korean monastery plans existed in Japan, along with two others, before the year 700. Four of them are represented in the group known as the Four Great Monasteries of the Fujiwara 藤原 capital.<sup>110</sup>

The earliest of the four, Asukadera, also known as Gangōji 元興寺, was founded in 588. Associated with the Soga 曾我 clan, particularly Umakō 馬子 (551?–626?), its plan is that of sixth-century Koguryō monasteries and the second Hwangnyōngsa, dated circa 643 (see figs. 28, 29, and 34). The simplest explanation for the plan is that Asukadera followed a Koguryō model, a plan based on examples like Chōngnūngsa and Kūmgangsa that pre-date 588 and do not survive. This proposal does not explain why the central pagoda in Koguryō is octagonal while at Asukadera and Hwangnyongsa, it is four-sided.

In contrast to Asukadera, which was excavated more than half a century ago, the second monastery, Kudara Ōdera 百濟大寺 was unknown except through textual references until the late 1990s. Founded in 639, it has opened for scholars of early Japanese Buddhist art the kind of possibilities one anticipated when excavation in China began in earnest in the 1950s: a new monastery plan. A pagoda and Kondō 金堂 (Buddha hall) were positioned side by side at this early seventh-century monastery. The base areas of the two buildings are similar: the pagoda platform is thirty-two meters square and the base of the image hall is thirty-seven by twenty-five meters, with perimeters of 128 and 124 meters, respectively. In addition, each structure is marked on the south of the enclosing covered arcade by its own gate. We have noted pairing of buildings in China, but usually with an additional, central, focal structure. The only precedent for this kind of parallel approach that does not involve twin buildings and without a central focus that comes to mind is the



38

38

Plans of selected Chinese, Korean, and Japanese monasteries of the 6th through 8th centuries. Drawn by Sijie Ren.

(a) Miruksa, 600–660; (b) Yongningsi, 516; (c) Hwangnyongsa, ca. mid-6th century; (d) Hwangnyongsa, after ca. 643; (e) Nungsa, 566; (f) Asukadera, 588; (g) Shitennojji, 593; (h) Kavaradera, 660s; (i) Kudara Odera, mid-7th century; (j) Hōrinji, 670 or later; (k) Yamadadera, 641; (l) Hōryūji, ca. 711; (m) Moto Yakushiji, 680; (n) Chōnggrimsa of Paekche, mid-6th century; (o) Kanzeonji, 723–31; (p) Hokkiji, 706; (q) Kūmgangsa, mid-6th century; (r) Minami Shigadera, 8th century; (s) Itamidara.

1) pagoda; 2) Buddha hall.

plan of the third-century palace-city Cao-Wei Luoyang in which the hall of audience and residential sectors behind it were approached by one gate and the hall of state to the east was approached by another.<sup>111</sup>

The plan of the third great monastery of the Fujiwara capital, Kavaradera 川原寺, founded in circa 668, may be a modified version of Kudara Ōdera. Kavaradera may have been transformed from a palace shortly after funerary ceremonies for Empress Saimei 斉明 were held there following her death in 661. An additional building behind the pagoda and Kondō may have been a second Kondō or it may have been a lecture hall, as the back structure at Kudara Ōdera is believed to be.<sup>112</sup>

If building type, size, and approach are related to religious beliefs, several conclusions can be drawn from the three plans. Asukadera seems to emphasize the single importance of the pagoda. Kudara Ōdera shows a shared importance of pagoda and image hall. Kavaradera signals a shift toward a coherent worship space, and the smaller size of the pagoda compared to the Kondō seems to indicate that the pagoda is no longer the supreme monument of Buddhist space. Why the pagoda is on the east at Kavaradera and on the west at Kudara Ōdera is unknown at this time. The last of the four, Yakushiji 薬師寺, is the earliest Japanese evidence of twin pagodas (fig. 38).

Less than half-a-kilometer southeast of Kavaradera are the remains of Tachibanadera 橘寺, a nunnery dated to the seventh century.<sup>113</sup> Its plan is that of Yongningsi of Luoyang and the Paekche monasteries, that is, gate, pagoda, and Buddha hall in a line, but oriented east–west. Shitennojji 四天王寺 of the Naniwa 難波





39

39  
Kondō, Hōryūji, Ikaruga, early 8th  
century. Photo by Nancy Steinhardt.

capital (today Osaka), founded in 593, has the same plan but oriented north–south like the Chinese and Korean monasteries. Knowing that the Yongningsi-Paekche scheme was implemented in Japan before the year 600, it should be significant that it was not selected for any of the great monasteries of the Fujiwara capital. The nunnery Chūgūji 中宮寺, established in Ikaruga 斑鳩 by the year 606, also had this plan.<sup>114</sup> Tachibanadera was rebuilt in 680, following destruction by fire. If it retains the plan of 601, then the four Japanese Buddhist monasteries, Chūgūji, Tachibanadera, Shitennōji, and Ikarugadera 斑鳩寺 all had the Paekche plan when only Asukadera of the Great Four was standing. All extant Japanese monasteries constructed before 621, except Asukadera, are associated with Prince Shōtoku 聖德 (573–621) who served as regent when his aunt Suikō 推古 (554–628) was empress. If it was not his favored plan, then it was favored in his time.

Both the plan associated with Shōtoku and the Asukadera plan, we now know, have Korean sources. The twin pagodas plan of Yakushiji may trace to the Silla kingdom, unless it can be determined that such a plan was built in China earlier than Kaiyuansi and Lingquansi. The origins of a monastery with pagoda and Buddha hall side by side, the arrangements of Kudara Ōdera and Kwaradera, appear to be in Japan.

### Hōryūji and Seventh-century Architecture in Japan

If we continue investigation of Japanese monastery plans for another century, through the Nara period (710–84), no new plans are found. The arrangement with one pagoda and three Buddha halls disappears, as did the Koguryō kingdom by this time, and twin pagodas become popular. The Paekche arrangement persists into the eighth century, with evidence of it at Yamadadera 山田寺 in Nara (see fig. 38).<sup>115</sup> The plan of pagoda and Kondō 金堂 side by side had already appeared in Ikaruga where three monasteries of this type were constructed. One of them is Hōryūji 法隆寺, also the location of ten of Japan's twenty-two oldest wooden buildings.<sup>116</sup>

Hōryūji receives more attention than any other early Buddhist monastery in Japan, probably more than any early monastery in East Asia except Foguangsi.<sup>117</sup> Its Kondō 金堂 is unique among extant buildings in East Asia (fig. 39).<sup>118</sup> From the exterior, it appears to be a two-story structure with an additional set of perimeter eaves on the first story. The upper story roof is a hip gable with a porch defining it. There are two sets of roof rafters, the upper circular in section and the lower four-sided; all are parallel. Pillars are thick, with entasis, and penetrated by beams near



the tops. On top of each pillar is a *sarato* 𦰩斗 (Chinese: *mindou*) The bracket sets are distinguished by cloud-shaped patterning, including a lower portion known as *zetsu* 舌 (tongue). Another distinctive feature is the alternating inverted V-shaped braces and single-step bracket arms across the balustrade of the upper story. Yet another is the very long, plain bracket arms. Similar building components are found in the central gate: pillars with entasis, penetrated by beams near the tops; *sarato* on top of each cap block; cloud-shaped patterning decorating the bracket arms; *zetsu*; and inverted V-shaped braces alternating with single-step bracket arms across a balustrade.

The five-story pagoda in the central cloister of Hōryūji is a three-bay square structure with a central pillar. With base dimensions only twenty meters square, it is much smaller than the pagoda that would have stood at Yongningsi or Kudara Ōdera. Remarkably, the central pillar and structural members around it do not interlock. Instead, space between them gives the wood a flexibility that allows it to respond to temperature and geographic conditions as violent as an earthquake.<sup>119</sup>

The above-mentioned Ikarugadera was located fewer than two hundred meters southeast of the four core buildings of Hōryūji today and, as also mentioned, in the late sixth century it had the plan of China's Yongningsi, Paekche monasteries, Shitennōji, and other monasteries associated with Prince Shōtoku. In the mid-seventh century, Shōtoku's descendants were purged by the Soga clan, and then in 670, the monastery known as Hōryūji was consumed by fire.<sup>120</sup>

Because of the fire, the year 670 is the earliest possible date for Hōryūji's four core buildings: Kondō, middle gate (Chūmon), pagoda, and enclosing arcade. The buildings certainly have stood since 747, the year mentioned in a monastery inventory. Early eighth century is most often used by Japanese architectural historians, and the discussion here also is based on that date.<sup>121</sup>

Harder to assess is whether the individual components of the buildings—such as bracket sets, balustrades, and roof styles and distinctive exterior features like the number of roof eaves of the Kondō or stories of the pagoda—reflect the early eighth century or if they were intended to retain the forms of the early seventh-century buildings, even if newer wooden pieces were employed. It is possible building pieces from Ikarugadera were used in the postconflagration reconstruction. The range of possibilities directly relates to whether builders or architectural forms came from the independent Korean kingdoms or from United Silla and whether Tang or pre-Tang architecture should be considered in assessing Hōryūji's earliest architecture.

One begins to answer these questions through two other pagodas in Ikaruga, each fewer than two kilometers from Hōryūji. The three-story structure at Hokkiji 法起寺 may be the oldest wooden pagoda in Japan. One almost as ancient stood at Hōrinji 法輪寺 until it was destroyed by lightning in 1944.



40

Pagoda, Hokkiji, Ikaruga, 685–706.  
Photo by Nancy Steinhardt.

The Hokkiji site traces to the year 638. Associated with Okamoto 岡本 palace, the pagoda is dated by some to circa 685 and by others to 706. Ikarugadera certainly predated it, but the Hokkiji pagoda was standing when Hōryūji was rebuilt after 670 (fig. 40).<sup>122</sup> It is about three-fourths the height of the Hōryūji pagoda. As far as we know, in circa 700, Hokkiji consisted of a pagoda and Kondō enclosed by an arcade, with a middle gate at the front and a lecture hall behind, and perhaps dormitories and a refectory. The plan is Hōryūji's in reverse. The pagoda has a key structural feature of central pillar and base, only partially implanted into the ground. Eventually central bases and the columns they contain would be moved above ground.<sup>123</sup> The position is consistent with a date of 685–706.

The Hōrinji pagoda that one sees today has been reconstructed based on the pagodas at Hōryūji and Hokkiji. The monastery plan was that of Hōryūji. Records place the construction date after 670 and before the reconstruction of Hōryūji in circa 710.<sup>124</sup>

Structurally, Hōrinji's pagoda was most similar to Hokkiji's. Both are three stories and about the same height. All three of the Ikaruga pagodas are supported by twelve exterior pillars and four interior ones. Tiebeams join the exterior columns at the tops and bottoms. At Hōryūji and Hokkiji, they penetrate the columns. Every exterior pillar has entasis. At its top, above the upper tiebeam, is a *daiwa* 台輪 that interfaces the column and cap block (Chinese: *ludou* 櫨斗; Japanese: *daito* 大斗) of each bracket set. Bracket arms that penetrate the building have one small bearing-block (*makito* 巻斗), but those at the interior corners have three. Bracket arms at all three pagodas are decorated with cloud-shaped patterning. Long tiebeams (*torii-hijiki* 通り肘木) rest on bearing blocks and the tops of bracket arms in both directions. Struts (*tsuka* 束) join the tiebeams and rafters (*taruki* 垂木). Concerning rafters, there are two sets, the lower, circular in section and the upper, square-shaped in section. Beams and struts support a lattice ceiling (*kumiire tenjō* 組入天).

These shared structural features of wooden framed buildings of circa 700 in Japan are those one seeks in China to determine if sixth-century timber construction anticipated Japanese architecture of the subsequent century. The upper tiebeam and entasis have been observed at the shrine atop the Yicahui pillar (see fig. 27). The cap block and additional block (*sarato*) have been seen in the Shijun sarcophagus (see fig. 24). Patterning on the ends of bracketing is found in Shedi Huiluo sarcophagus (see fig. 23). The heights of the three Ikaruga pagodas are harder to assess in comparison with China and Korea. The Hōryūji pagoda is more complicated than Hokkiji's or Hōrinji's, but it did not soar nine stories like the one at Yongningsi or even as high as the three-bay square central pagoda of Mirūksa. One must wonder if nine-story pagodas were associated with royalty and, if so, whether any were erected at the Great Monasteries of the Fujiwara capital.<sup>125</sup>





41

41  
Stone pagoda, Tō no mori, Nara  
prefecture, Nara period. Photo by  
Nancy Steinhardt.



42

42  
Tamamushi Shrine, Hōryūji Treasure  
House, mid-7th century. From  
Amanuma, *Nihon no kenchiku*, vol.  
1, pl. 64.



43

43  
Gao Yi *que*, Ya'an, Sichuan province,  
late Han period, showing curved,  
elongated bracket arms. Photo by  
Nancy Steinhardt.

Equally intriguing, because of a possible relation to the height of wooden pagodas, is construction in stone. As in Korea, stone pagodas existed in the Asuka and Nara periods (fig. 41).<sup>126</sup> The fact that extant timber pagodas in Japan are three and five stories, that no wooden pagodas survive from this period in Korea, and that in China the first towering timber pagoda survives from the eleventh century all may be the result of natural disasters. But it also may indicate that the technology did not exist for ensuring tall wooden construction, and perhaps for that reason brick and stone pagodas were built in the first place.

One more Japanese structure is helpful in understanding sixth-century architecture: Tamamushi 玉虫 Shrine. Made to house a devotional image, the shrine consists of four parts: base, bodies of the main lower and upper sections, and roof (fig. 42).<sup>127</sup> As a whole, it can be compared to the Yicahui pillar, perhaps evidence that personal shrines were elevated at eye-level, and those for an entire village soared multiples of that height in the sixth and seventh centuries. In terms of specific elements, the bracket arms of Tamamushi Shrine are decorated with the cloud-like patterning found in the Ikaruga buildings.

Five timber-supported structures are painted on the back of the lower shaft of Tamamushi Shrine. Each is comprised of only five elements: foundation platform, red pillars, red bracket sets, parallel roof rafters, and *chiwei* at the ends of the main roof ridge. A similar form is used to portray buildings on the Tenjukoku 天寿国 "Mandala," commissioned in about 623 following the death of Prince Shōtoku and today in the nunnery Chūguji.<sup>128</sup> An open, pavilion-like structure similarly is employed for the Chinese building under which the Sogdian An Qie (died 572) and his wife sit on his above-mentioned funerary couch (see fig. 25). The pavilion has the typical sixth-century feature, the inverted V-shaped brace, found at the Hōryūji Kondō and Middle Gate and elsewhere (see figs. 15, 23, 24, and 39). The timber frame and tile roof with parallel rafters and corner decoration are all that are necessary to identify a late sixth- or early seventh-century Chinese building. The aspects of Chinese ideology associated with a wooden building may have been different for a Sogdian lord and a Japanese royal patron, but in the early seventh century, those motifs were shared at both ends of East Asia.



44

44  
Bracket set with elongated arms on right side of front chamber, Dongzipai tomb 1, Qijiang, Santai, Sichuan province, Eastern Han period. From *Wenwu*, no. 1 (2002), p. 31.



45

45  
Decoration on corridor of Nanjiao Tomb 1, Liaoyang, Liaoning province, late Eastern Han period. From *Wenwu*, no. 10 (2008), p. 42.



46

46  
Central pillar, back chamber, Balinpo tomb 1, Qijiang, Santai, Sichuan province, Eastern Han period. From *Wenwu*, no. 9 (2005), p. 19.



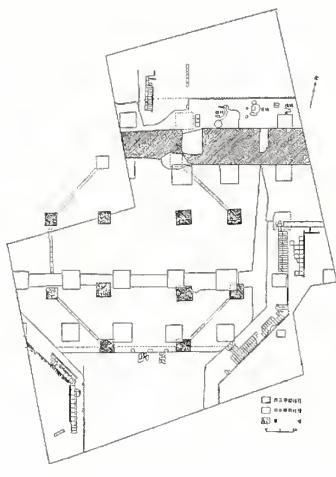
47  
Ceiling of right front chamber, Dongzipai tomb 1, Qijiang, Santai, Sichuan province, Eastern Han period. From *Wenwu*, no. 1 (2002), p. 32.

### Stone Architecture of Eastern Han

Compared to evidence of architecture of the sixth and even the fifth and fourth centuries, three-dimensional evidence from the Eastern Han (23–220) period is often larger in size and occasionally boldly compelling. Best known are *que*, the gate-pillars that marked entries to cities and approaches to tombs. Approximately thirty still stand.<sup>129</sup> Long bracket arms, undulating bracket arms, and bracket arms with cloud-like patterning, all observed in wooden architecture of Ikaruga, are found on them (fig. 43). Recently identified evidence of architecture from chambers of Eastern Han cliff tombs in Qijiang 郫江 and Anju 安居 townships of Santai 三台 county, Sichuan, near Leshan 乐山, presents the same kinds of bracket arms (fig. 44).<sup>130</sup> The inverted V-shaped brace found on the Kondō and middle gate of Hōryūji, the Shijun sarcophagus, and in relief sculpture and painting of caves and tombs across China and Koguryō is painted on architraves in second-century stone tombs in Liaoyang, Liaoning (fig. 45).<sup>131</sup> The red wooden frame comprises the same features as the structure on An Qie's funerary couch and those on Tamamushi Shrine and the Tenjukoku Mandala (see figs. 25 and 42).

Central pillar construction, the feature associated with Buddhist cave-temple architecture and individual wooden pagodas, also is found in Eastern Han cliff tombs (fig. 46). Sometimes in the middle of a chamber and other times close to the back wall, but always on the interior central axis, central columns also are used in brick tombs in the Luoyang region of the late Western Han period and slightly later (220 BCE–9 CE).<sup>132</sup> The presence of details of Indian Buddhist art in Chinese imagery of the Han period is well documented.<sup>133</sup> The wooden pillar that spans the length from central “heart” stone to roof spire in a timber-frame pagoda, like the bracket arms that decorate it, thus may have a second-century CE Chinese source independent of a South Asian one. The last feature of Han cliff tombs that finds its way into Buddhist construction is the lantern, or cupola, ceiling (fig. 47).





48  
Site of octagonal hall, Luoyang,  
Henan province, probably Tang  
period. From *Kaogu* no. 6 (1978),  
p. 361.

### Octagonal Construction

The final defining structural element of sixth-century East Asia is the octagon. It appears not only in ceiling construction but in ground plans. In Korea, one recalls octagonal pagodas at Koguryō monasteries and the twin octagonal structures at Wandu mountain castle (see figs. 28, 29, and 33). The form may trace to Han China. In the 1930s Bishop Charles William White saw and published an octagonal tomb, believed to be Han because of the objects in it.<sup>134</sup>

The earliest confirmed archaeological evidence of an aboveground octagonal hall in China is from the Tang dynasty. Three such foundations have been uncovered at the Luoyang capital. The first measures 65.8 meters in “diameter” and has a central pillar placed into the ground in a stone foundation. An inscription says the structure was erected by imperial decree in 705. Initially believed to be the Mingtang of the usurper empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (625–705), it is now known that her Mingtang stood just over one hundred meters to the north.<sup>135</sup> The best suggestion for the first foundation is that it is from the Tang Tiantan 天壇 (Altar to Heaven). Empress Wu’s Mingtang is the second foundation and is also believed to have been octagonal.<sup>136</sup> The third octagonal wooden hall was excavated on the western side of the palace-city of Luoyang (fig. 48).<sup>137</sup>

Two eighth-century octagonal buildings in Japan may help explain the function of the third Luoyang building and perhaps other eight-sided architecture. One is Yumedono 夢殿 (Hall of Dreams) in the east precinct of Hōryūji; it was begun in the 730s under the direction of the priest Gyoshin 行信 as part of what would be a century-by-century enhancement of the life and legendary lore of Prince Shōtoku, who is said to have come to this site to contemplate, or dream about, the Buddha.<sup>138</sup> In the above-mentioned inventory of Hōryūji, the east octagonal hall is named *hak-kaku* Butsuden 八角佛殿 (eight-cornered Buddha hall).<sup>139</sup> Another octagonal hall stands in Hōryūji’s west precinct. Built under the direction of the priest Gyoki 行基 in 718 at the request of Lady Tachibana, it was known as Saiendō 西円堂, “west circular hall.”<sup>140</sup> Saiendō was rebuilt in 1249. Its original images are not certain, but the current Heian-Kamakura-period main image, Yakushi 薬師, may represent the original primary statue. A healing deity, of course, is associated with severe, life-threatening illness.

Hōryūji’s eighth-century octagonal hall consists of eight 8-sided exterior pillars and eight interior ones. A different plan is used for the octagonal hall at Eizanji 栄山寺, about twenty-five kilometers from Hōryūji in Nara prefecture. It has only four interior pillars, the same configuration as the Luoyang building whose purpose has not been determined.

The date of Eizanji’s founding is uncertain. Roof tiles found there are similar enough to some uncovered at the site of Yakushiji in the Fujiwara capital that a very

early eighth-century date has been proposed. Others believe it was constructed in 763–64.<sup>141</sup> There is little doubt that the Eizanji octagonal hall was constructed within twenty-five years of the erection of Yumedono, so that it is unlikely it was built without knowledge of the octagonal hall on the other side of the Nara capital.

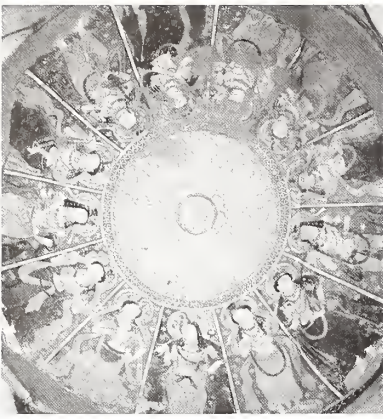
Both Nara-period octagonal halls are commemorative, posthumously created to evoke the memory of an ancestor or great man. Pagodas, the only other East Asian structure known to be octagonal, commemorate the death of the Buddha.<sup>142</sup>

Two eight-sided buildings also were constructed at the monastery Kōfukuji 興福寺 in Nara, the earlier known as the north octagonal hall, vowed in 721, and the south octagonal hall in 814. Today they stand as Kamakura- and Edo-period buildings, respectively. Their Japanese names are Hokuendo 北円堂 and Nanendo 南円堂, or north and south circular halls, respectively. The character *en* 円 is the same one used for the Heian-Kamakura-period Saiendo at Hōryūji. The names return us to the issue raised by the dodecagonal Songyue Monastery pagoda.

If the name circular is used for an octagonal ground plan, does it follow that the intent was a circular building? An attempted circle has been proposed here to explain the unique twelve-sided Songyuesi pagoda (see fig. 1). The name “circular” suggests a similar intent in Nara Japan. Furthermore, although the Japanese octagonal halls were not pagodas, they were intended to evoke the memory of a departed Buddhist.

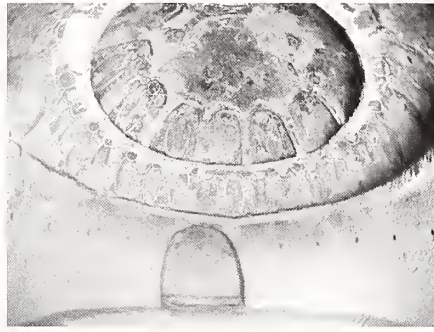
The question of a Chinese source for the one-story commemorative octagonal halls in Japan returns us to the ruins from Sui-Tang Luoyang. The octagonal hall in its own precinct in the northern part of the Luoyang palace-city also may have been commemorative.

None of the eight-sided buildings was mentioned in Alexander Soper’s study of eight-sided and domed ceilings that rise above these kinds of buildings. He did recognize the importance of Koguryō in his 1947 article on the Dome of Heaven in Asia.<sup>143</sup> Soper wrote in response to Karl Lehmann’s study of the ceiling type outside Asia two years earlier in which ceilings, particularly with representations of heavenly bodies, from Byzantium through the Italian Baroque period were shown to have sources in ancient Rome, provincial Rome, and, he posited, ancient Egypt.<sup>144</sup> Soper began in Mathura and continued in several directions, taking his reader to the Esoteric Mandala of the Two Worlds, cave-temples of Bamiyan and Kizil, Mogao caves, Koguryō tombs, and Ming (1368–1644) temple ceilings. Uncharacteristically, Soper did not consider periodization. Rather, he sought to demonstrate that a feature in Western architecture “penetrated eastward far beyond the limits of Roman authority or of orthodox Christianity.”<sup>145</sup> He wrote, further, that the similarities with the Western material are hard to explain except by “direct borrowing.”<sup>146</sup> Soper suggested that Buddhists built Domes of Heaven because they came into



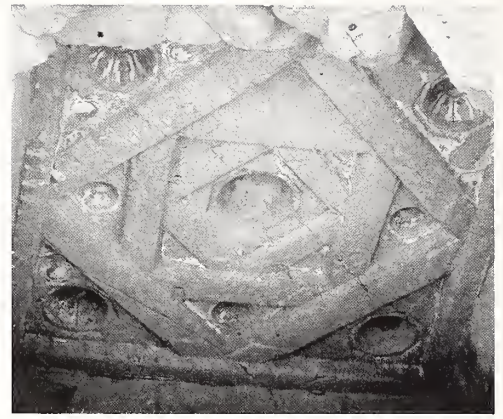
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49  
Ceiling of cave GK 21, Kumtura, Xinjiang Autonomous Region. From *China Heritage Quarterly Newsletter* 003 ([http://www.chinaheritagequarterly.org/003/\\_pix/kizil3.jpg](http://www.chinaheritagequarterly.org/003/_pix/kizil3.jpg)). Published courtesy of *China Heritage Quarterly*.



50

50  
Ceiling of cave 164, Bamiyan. From [http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL\\_ID=24855&URL\\_DO=DO\\_PRINTPAGE&URL\\_SECTION=201.html](http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=24855&URL_DO=DO_PRINTPAGE&URL_SECTION=201.html). Published courtesy of UNESCO.



51

51  
Ceiling of Foladi cave 4, Bamiyan. Photo by and published courtesy of Michael Meister.

contact with the repertoire of Greco-Roman architecture during the Gandharan period.<sup>147</sup> He did not cite Josef Strzygowski (1862–1941), but his thesis is very much in that mold: focusing on Indian Buddhist, early Christian, early Islamic, or Byzantine art, Strzygowski inevitably managed to bring his reader back to ancient Greece as the source of civilization's greatest art.<sup>148</sup>

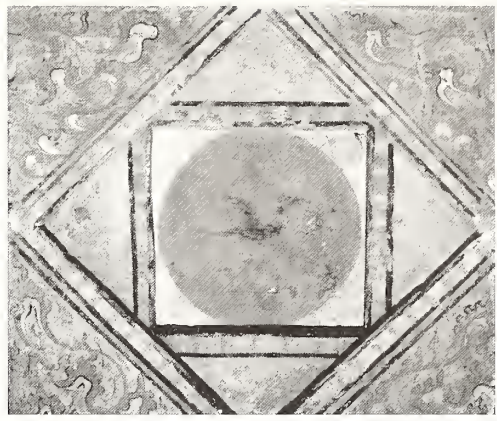
Whether from the pen of Strzygowski or Franz Boas (1858–1942) or other diffusionists writing in the 1920s through 1940s who argued for heliocentrism,<sup>149</sup> the ideas followed the Darwinian use of the word evolution in dangerous ways. The theories fed into notions of ethnic cleansing on the one hand, colonialism on another, and orientalism on yet another, all with the understanding of a superior source that spreads, sometimes intentionally and other times because of its inherent superiority, to “lesser” cultures. There is no evidence that Alexander Soper or Karl Lehmann were reading the cultural anthropology of their day. Yet as a professor at Columbia, Boas's work was widely known in the United States and is likely to have been known to scholars in the third, fourth, and fifth decades of the 1900s.<sup>150</sup> One cannot ignore that there were agendas in cross-cultural comparative research in the first half of the twentieth century. Those agendas, and equally distasteful political undertones of the Japanese research in the same decades with which we began this study, no doubt have been factors in the absence of scholarship on East Asian or broader Asian subjects in more recent decades. As it turns out, some of the most pertinent material for understanding the sixth century in East Asian architecture was first studied by Tōyō-ists and is included as evidence of the Dome of Heaven in Soper's study. Among it are ceilings in caves of the Kucha region that some now believe to be as early as the fourth century, contemporary with Koguryō tombs, and in caves at Bamiyan (figs. 49–52, and see fig. 20).

The visual similarities of the domed ceilings and ceilings of embedded octagons in the Kucha region and elsewhere in Xinjiang, Bamiyan, and the Koguryō tombs are as striking today as they were when Soper wrote about them sixty-four years ago.<sup>151</sup> At that time, and through the 1980s, Rome was believed to be their source because the ceilings were considered post-Han phenomena, dated to the fourth century at the earliest.<sup>152</sup> Not only are the interiors of cliff tombs in Sichuan evidence that components in Japan's oldest wooden buildings—long bracket arms, cloud-shaped decoration on bracket arms, and central pillars—trace to the Eastern Han period but that the domed and octagonal ceilings, like features of wooden halls that are sometimes under them, also trace to the Han. In fact, the ceiling is found in two-





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Ceiling of Tokhwari Tomb 2, South P'yŏngyang, late 5th–early 6th century. Published courtesy of Ah-Rim Park.

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Ceiling of tomb in Jinguyuan, Luoyang, Xin Mang period (9–23). From Huang and Guo, *Luoyang Hanmu bishu*, p. 111.

dimensional form in the Xin period (8–23) in a tomb in Jinguyuan 金谷园, Luoyang (fig. 53).<sup>153</sup> If White's rendering of the tomb he saw in Luoyang in the early twentieth century is correct, then the octagonal space traces to the Han period as well.

The existence of Han prototypes does not mean that Han Chinese construction was the source of cave-temple architecture in Xinjiang or Afghanistan, only that it is a possible source. Yet archaeological evidence mounts to support connections between China and Rome, which were proposed when there was little material evidence to support the possibility.<sup>154</sup> Most important is that if the search to demonstrate the transmission of forms across Asia was misguided in the first part of the twentieth century, some of the conclusions by the searchers may have been valid. Those writings, like standard histories and monks' biographies of the centuries after Han and through the Tang, have now in some ways been tested and validated.

Buddhist monastery builders in sixth-century China, Korea, and Japan built temples, tombs, *digong*, and monasteries with shared plans and construction details. Entering the century, the pagoda was the primary monument in Buddhist space, and its forms were traceable to India. By the end of the century and into the seventh, the image hall had ascended in importance. For now, the roots of sixth-century construction lie in the Eastern Han. They may trace earlier, and we must leave open the possibility of innovation between China's third century and the sixth in China, Korea, and Japan, but we currently have little to guide our assessment of these subjects. Han China constructed eight-sided spaces, particularly in ceilings, and domes sheltered Buddhist spaces across Xinjiang and in the Bamiyan region by the fourth century. One now writes as confidently about sixth-century architecture in East Asia as about that of the seventh or eighth century. The discourse tells us that it was an age of the reaffirmation of building pieces and a construction system that had existed on continental East Asia four or five centuries earlier.

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## NOTES

- 1 Wang Xuanzhi's (d. 555?) almost unique text on a city and its Buddhist architecture is divided into five *juan*, each focused on one urban sector: inner, north, south, east, and west. Information about religious architecture in the adjacent suburbs is also included. For a translation, see Wang Yi-t'ung, *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-yang* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984); for a study, see W. J. F. Jenner, *Memories of Loyang: Yang Hsüan-chih and the Lost Capital (493–534)* (Oxford and New York: Clarendon and Oxford University Press, 1981).
- 2 The main hall of Nanchan Monastery, on Mount Wutai, has been extensively studied. See, for example, Chen Mingda 陳明達, "Nanchansi 南禪寺" (Nanchan Monastery), *Wenwu cankao ziliao* 文物參考資料, no. 11 (1954), pp. 38–42; Qi Yingtao 祁英濤 and Chai Zejun 柴澤俊, "Nanchansi dadian xiufu 南禪寺大殿修復" (Restoration of the main hall of Nanchan Monastery), *Wenwu* 文物, no. 11 (1980), pp. 61–75; Chai Zejun and Liu Xiangwu 劉憲武, "Nanchansi," *Wenwu*, no. 11 (1980), pp. 75–77; Qi and Chai, "Wutai Nanchansi dadian xiufu gongcheng baogao" 五臺南禪寺大殿修復工程報告" (Report on restoration work on the main hall of Nanchansi, Mount Wutai), *Jianzhu lishi yanjiu* 建築歷史研究 (Research on Chinese architecture) vol. 2, internal publication of the Chinese Institute for Research on Chinese Architecture, preface dated 1982; and Chai Zejun, "Wutai Nanchansi" (Nanchan Monastery on Wutai), in *Chai Zejun gujianzhu wenji* 柴澤俊古建築文集 (Collected essays on old architecture by Chai Zejun) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1999), pp. 78–82. The building also is discussed in almost any general study of architecture in Shanxi or in China.
- 3 Japanese timber buildings dated before the end of the eighth century are: the Kondō 金堂 (main Buddha hall), five-story pagoda, middle gate, covered arcade, Yumedono 夢殿, great east gate, Dempōdō 伝法堂, sutra repository, Higashimuro 東室 (dormitory), and refectory, all at Hōryūji 法隆寺; three-story pagoda at Hokkiji 法起寺; the octagonal hall at Eizanji 榮山寺; the east pagoda at Yakushiji 藥師寺; the five-story miniature pagoda and west Kondō at Kairyūji 海流王寺; the five-story miniature pagoda of the Gokurakubo 極楽坊 at Gangōji 元興寺; the east pagoda at Taimadera 當麻寺; the Hokkedō 法華堂 and Tegai Gate 転害門 at Tōdaiji 東大寺; the main hall of Shin Yakushiji 新藥師寺; and the Kondō and lecture hall at Tōshōdaiji 唐招提寺. For illustrations of most of them and discussion, see Suzuki Kakichi, *Early Buddhist Architecture in Japan*, trans. M. N. Parent and N. S. Steinhardt (Tokyo, New York, and San Francisco: Kodansha International, 1980), pp. 54–131. Korea's oldest wooden buildings date to the thirteenth century.
- 4 In the 1950s when Nanchansi was rediscovered, China's other two earlier Tang buildings were first published, and site surveys and excavation became activities sponsored by the Chinese government, it seemed likely that additional early wooden buildings would be identified. Year by year, the likelihood lessens. An excellent example of the kind of survey that is considered comprehensive is *Zhongguo wenwu ditu ji* 中国文物地图集 (Chinese cultural relics atlas), with eighteen provinces or other regions published to date. Since the 1990s, various publishers have participated in the project.
- 5 On this subject, see Iida Sugashi 飯田須賀斯, *Chūgoku kenchiku no Nihon*

- kenchiku ni oyoboseru eikyō: tokubetsuni saibu nitsuite* 中国建築の日本建築に及ぼせる影響: 特に細部に就いて (Influence of Chinese architecture on Japanese architecture: especially details) (Tokyo: Sagami shobō, 1976). These writings are studied in a less critical way in Xu Subin 徐蘇斌, *Riben dui Zhongguo chengshi yu jianzhu de yanjiu* 日本對中國城市與建築的研究 (Research on the influence of Japan on Chinese cities and architecture) (Beijing: Zhongguo shuili shuidian chubanshe, 1999).
- 6 The “giants” among archaeologist-scholars of the first decades of the twentieth century, men such as Tokiwa Daijō 常盤大定 (1870–1945), Sekino Tadashi 關野貞 (1868–1935), and Umehara Sueji 梅原末治 (1893–1983) all have come under scrutiny. On this subject, see Vimalin Rujivacharakul, “The Rise of Chinese Architectural History: Cross-cultural Studies and the Making of Modern Knowledge” (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2006).
  - 7 Journals include: *Tōyō gaku* 東洋美術, begun in 1911; *Tōyō bijutsu* 東洋美術, 1929–37; *Tōyō keizai shinbō* 東洋經濟新報, 1929–60; *Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō* 東洋文化研究所紀要, begun in 1943; *Tōyō bunka kenkyū* 東洋文化研究, 1944–49.
  - 8 On this subject, see, for example, Joyce C. Lebra, *Japan's Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere in World War II: Selected Readings and Documents* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975) and Ramon H. Myers and Mark Peattie, *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895–1945* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).
  - 9 Sir Banister Fletcher, *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method: for the Student, Craftsman, and Amateur* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1905), 5th rev. ed., and James Fergusson, *A History of Architecture in All Countries, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, 5 vols. (London: J. Murray, 1893–1902), with two earlier editions.
  - 10 For discussion of Liang's vision of Chinese architecture and the way Japanese architecture was part of it, see Steinhardt, “The Tang Architectural Icon and the Politics of Chinese Architectural History,” *Art Bulletin* 86, no. 2 (2004), pp. 228–54. On Liang's selectivity in presentation of the Chinese architectural tradition outside China, see Zhao Chen 趙晨, “Guanyu Zhongguo chuantong jianzhu de ‘limian’—yi Xifang gudian juyi jianzhu lilun zhuzhe Zhongguo chuantong jianzhu” 關於中國傳統建築的‘立面’—以西方古典主義建築理論舉折中國傳統建築 (Elevation or façade? A study of the misinterpretation of Chinese traditional architecture based on Western classicism), *Chengshi yu jihua xuebao* 18, no. 2 (2007), pp. 71–84.
  - 11 The building on which Liang relied most is the Kondō of Tōshōdaiji. See Liang Sicheng, “Tangzhaodisi Jintang he Zhongguo Tangdai de jianzhu” 唐招提寺金堂和中國唐代的建築 (The Kondō of Tōshōdaiji and Chinese Tang architecture), in *Liang Sicheng quanji* 梁思成全集 (Complete works of Liang Sicheng), 9 vols. (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2001), vol. 5, pp. 414–32.
  - 12 The best single source of information and theoretical reconstructions of sixth-century palace buildings is Fu Xinian 傅熹年, *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi* 中國古代建築史 (History of premodern Chinese Architecture), vol. 2: *Liang Jin, Nanbeichao, Sui-Tang, Wudai jianzhu* 兩晉南北朝隋唐五代建築 (Both Jins, Northern and Southern Dynasties, Sui-Tang, and Five Dynasties architecture) (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2001), pp. 109–18. Because most of the information about palaces is speculative, they are not considered here.
  - 13 For a province-by-province survey, see Liu Xiuwen 盧秀文, ed. *Zhongguo shiku tuwen zhi* 中國石窟圖文志 (Pictorial and literary record of Chinese rock-carved temples), 3 vols. (Lanzhou: Dunhuang wenyi chubanshe, 2002). Cave temples are also discussed in Fu, *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi*, vol. 2, pp. 193–230.
  - 14 The working number of tombs between the Han and Tang periods used at scholarly meetings is at least 20,000, of which at least twenty percent have been excavated.
  - 15 Examples of each that address these points are: Liu Dunzhen, “Falongsiguo Han, Liuchao jianzhu shi yang zhi guanxi bing buzhu” 法隆寺與漢六朝建築式樣之關係并補注 (Supplementary notes on the relation between Hōryūji and architectural styles of the Han-Six Dynasties period), *Zhongguo yingzao xueshe huikan* 中國營造學社彙刊 5, no. 2 (1932), pp. 1–60; Naitō Tōichirō, *The Wall-Paintings of Hōryūji*, 2 vols., trans. and ed. W. R. B. Acker and Benjamin Rowland (Baltimore: Waverly Press, Inc., 1943); and Alexander Soper, *The Evolution of Buddhist Architecture in Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1942).
  - 16 Wei Shou 魏收 (506–572), *Wei shu* 魏書 (hereafter *Wei shu*) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), *juan* 114, pp. 3025–29. Many of the passages quoted here are cited in Su Bai 宿白, “Dong Han, Wei, Jin, Nanbeichao, Fosi buju chutan” 東漢、魏、晉、南北朝、佛寺佈局初探 (Early stages of investigation of the layout of Buddhist monasteries of Eastern Han, Wei, Jin, and Northern and Southern Dynasties), in Tian Yuqing 田餘慶, et al., eds. *Qingzhu Deng Guangming jiaoshou jiushi huayan lunwen ji* 慶祝鄧廣銘教授



- 九十華誕論文集 (Collected essays commemorating the ninetieth birthday of Professor Deng Guangming) (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1997). Some are also cited in Zhao Yonghong 趙永洪, "Jin bainian Han-Tang Fosi kaogu de huigu yu zhanwang" 近百年漢唐 佛寺考古的回顧與展望 (Retrospective look at the archaeology of Buddhist monasteries from Han to Tang in the last century), in *Zhonghua wenhua bainian lunwen ji* 中華文化百年論文集 (A hundred years of Chinese culture), 2 vols. (Taipei: Guoli Lishi Bowuguan, 1999), vol. 2, pp. 628–81. I thank Wai-kit Tse for tracking down the sources in many of the references in Su Bai's article.
- 17 *Wei shu*, *juan* 114, p. 3026.
  - 18 Chen Shou 陳壽 (233–97), *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), *juan* 49, p. 1185; and see Fan Ye 范曄, *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (History of the Later Han) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), p. 2368.
  - 19 Si 寺 is a term borrowed from its secular meaning of official bureau to refer to a Buddhist building complex. It is usually translated as monastery. Its Buddhist context in a fourth-century text indicates the religious use had occurred by that time. See Taiwan Gaoxiongshi 臺灣高雄 市, *Foguang da cidian* 佛光大辭典 (Dictionary of Buddhism) (Gaoxiong: Foguang chubanshe, 1988–89), vol. 3, pp. 2414–417.
  - 20 Chen Qiaoyi 陳橋驛, *Shui jing zhu jiaoshi* 水經注校釋 *juan* 5 (Hangzhou: Hangzhou Daxue chubanshe, 1999), p. 81.
  - 21 Known for his translations of scriptures, Dao'an had been moved to Chang'an by Xiaowendi 孝文帝 after the conquest of Xiangyang 襄陽 in Hubei in 379.
  - 22 Huijiao 慧皎, *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (Biographies of eminent monks), annotated by Tang Yongtang 湯用彤 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992), *juan* 5, p. 179; and Baochang 寶唱 (6th c.), *Mingseng zhuan chao* 名僧傳鈔 (Notes on biographies of famous monks) (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chubanshe, 1975), p. 22.
  - 23 Sengyou 僧祐, *Chu Sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 (Collected notes on the three collections), *juan* 13, in *Xuxiu Siku quanshu*, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), vol. 1288, p. 320.
  - 24 *Wei shu*, *juan* 114, p. 3037.
  - 25 Huijiao, *Gaoseng zhuan*, *juan* 13, 477–78.
  - 26 Xiao Zixian 蕭子顯 (489–537), *Nan Qi shu* 南齊書 (Standard history of Southern Qi) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1972), *juan* 53, p. 916.
  - 27 *Wei shu*, *juan* 114, p. 3030.
  - 28 On "Da Dai Dangchanggong Huifusi bei" 大代宕昌公暉福寺碑 (Stele of Huifu Monastery of Duke Dai Dangchang), see Guojia Tushuguan Shanben Jinshizu 國家圖書館善本金石組 ed., *Xian Qin Qin Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao shike wenxian quanbian* 先秦秦漢魏晉南北朝石刻文獻全編 (Compendium of stele inscriptions of Pre-Qin, Qin, Han, Wei, Jin, and Northern Dynasties), 3 vols. (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2003), vol. 2, pp. 559–60.
  - 29 Wang Jin 王巾, "Toutuosi beiwen" 頭陀寺碑文 (Stele inscription of Toutuosi), in Xiao Tong 蕭統 ed., *Wen xuan* 文選 (Selected writings ["Rhapsodies"]) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1997), *juan* 59, p. 2537.
  - 30 On Dulesi and for illustrations of the pavilion see, for example: Liang Sicheng 梁思成, "Jixian Dulesi Guanying, Shanmen kao" 薊縣獨樂寺觀音閣山門考 (Investigation of Guanyin Pavilion and the front gate of Dule Monastery in Ji county), *Zhongguo yingzao xueshe huikan* 中國營造學社彙刊 vol. 3, no. 2 (1932), pp. 1–92; Yang Xin 楊新, ed., *Jixian Dulesi* 薊縣獨樂寺 (Dule Monastery of Ji county) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2007); and Chen Mingda, ed., *Jixian Dulesi* 薊縣獨樂寺 (Dule Monastery of Ji county) (Tianjin: Tianjin Daxue chubanshe, 2007).
  - 31 Daoxuan 道宣, *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳, *juan* 1, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書, vol. 1281 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), p. 469.
  - 32 Xu Song 許嵩 (8th century), comp., *Jiankang shilu* 建康實錄 (Veritable record of Jiankang) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), *juan* 17, pp. 15a–16a.
  - 33 Daoxuan 道宣, *Luxiang gantong zhuan* 律相感通傳, in *Dazang jing* 大藏經 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chubanshe, 1983), vol. 45, pp. 877–78.
  - 34 Wang Bo 王勃, "Guangzhou Baozhuang-yansi Shelitabei" 廣州寶莊嚴寺舍利塔碑 (Stele of the Reliquary Pagoda of Baozhuangyan Monastery in Guangzhou), in Li Fang 李昉, ed., *Wenyuan yinghua* 文苑英華 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1966), *juan* 82, pp. 4498–4499.
  - 35 Daoxuan, *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, *juan* 27, p. 285.
  - 36 Su Bai, "Dong Han, Wei, Jin, Nanbeichao," p. 42. The passage is in Yao Silian 姚思廉, *Liang shu* 梁書 (Standard history of Liang) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), *juan* 54, p. 792. Sometimes twinning is assumed when in fact the evidence only confirms two pagodas. Even when pagodas are symmetrical, they need not be identical or have the same date. On the two pagodas at Kaiyuansi in Quanzhou, see Gustav Ecke and Paul Demiéville, *The Twin Pagodas of Zayton* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935). They were not built as a pair, nor were the two pagodas at Pulguksa in Kyōngju. It is all the more difficult to be certain about the intent at a sixth-century monastery where nothing survives.

- 37 For more on all the Yungang caves, see Su Bai 宿白, "Yungang shiku fenqi shilun" 雲崗石窟分期試論 (Examination of the periodization of the Yungang caves), *Zhongguo shikusi yanjiu* 中國石窟史研究 (Research on Chinese rock-carved caves) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1996), pp. 25–38, and Xia Nai 夏鼐 et al., eds. *Zhongguo shiku: Yungang shiku* 中國石窟: 雲岡石窟 (Chinese rock-carved caves: Yungang rock-carved caves), 2 vols. (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1994).
- 38 The Mogao caves are well known and widely published. For a picture of fifty-seven caves, the majority of them dated sixth century or earlier, see Xia Nai 夏鼐 et al., eds., *Zhongguo shiku: Dunhuang Mogao ku* 中國石窟: 敦煌莫高窟 (Chinese rock-carved caves: Dunhuang rock-carved caves), 5 vols. (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1982), vol. 1, p. 185. On the smaller site in Yixian, see Liu Jianhua, 劉建華, *Yixian Wanfotang shiku* 義縣萬佛堂石窟 (Wanfotang rock-carved caves in Yi county) (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2001). A site plan is found on p. 10.
- 39 Alexander Soper, "Imperial Cave-Chapels of the Northern Dynasties: Donors, Beneficiaries, Dates," *Artibus Asiae* 28, no. 4 (1966), pp. 241–70.
- 40 Gustav Roth, "Symbolism of the Buddhist Stupa," in *Stupa: Its Religious, Historical and Architectural Significance*, ed. Anna L. Dallapiccola and Stephanie Z.-A. Lallement (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1980), pp. 183–209. The role of a central pillar in Buddhist cave-temples is well documented. See Xiao Mo 蕭默, *Dunhuang jianzhu yanjiu* 敦煌建築研究 (Research on architecture at Dunhuang) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1989), pp. 33–60; Stanley Abe, "Art and Practice in a Fifth-Century Chinese Buddhist Cave Temple," *Ars Orientalis* 20 (1990), pp. 1–31; and Andrew K. Y. Leung, "The Architecture of the Central-Pillar Cave in China and Central Asia" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2007).
- 41 On the tomb in Dingjiazha, Gansu, shown in fig. 5, see Gansusheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 甘肅省文物考古研究所, *Jiuquan Shiliuguo mu bihua* 酒泉十六國墓壁畫 (A tomb with murals of the Sixteen Kingdoms Period in Jiuquan) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1989). On the Koguryō tomb, illustrated in fig. 6, see Jilinsheg Wenwu Gongzuodui 吉林省文物工作隊, et al., "Jian Changchuan yihao bihua mu" 集安長川一號壁畫墓 (Changchuan tomb no. 1 with murals in Jian), *Dongbei kaogu yu lishi* 東北考古與歷史 (Archaeology and history of the Northeast), no. 1 (1982), pp. 154–73. For an examples of a two-chamber burial in the Datong region, see Wang Yintian 王銀田 and Liu Junxi 劉俊喜, "Datong Zhijiabao Bei Wei mu shiguo bihua" 大同智家堡北魏墓石槨壁畫 (Paintings on a Northern Wei stone sarcophagus from Zhijiabao, Datong) *Wenwu*, no. 7 (2001), pp. 40–51.
- 42 For an Eastern Han example in Henan, see Liu Dunzhen 劉敦楨, *Lin Dunzhen wenji* 劉敦楨文集 (Collected essays of Liu Dunzhen), vol. 2 (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1984), p. 322; for a fifth-century example in Jilin, see Wei Cuncheng 魏存成, *Gaogouli kaogu* 高句麗考古 (Koguryō archaeology) (Changchun: Jilin Daxue chubanshe, 1994), fig. 83.2.
- 43 Testament to its paramount importance, Yongning is the first monastery discussed in *Luoyang qielan ji*. For the translation, see Wang Yi-t'ung, *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries*, pp. 13–17.
- 44 The actual lengths of Chinese measurements change through history, although certain standards, such as one *li* = three hundred *bu* or one *zhang* = ten *chi* tended to be maintained from Qin through Qing. According to Qiu Guangming 丘光明, *Zhongguo gudai duiliang heng kao* 中國古代度量衡考 (Research on weights and measures through the ages) (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1992 and later editions), foldout chart between pp. 190 and 191, during this period a *chi* was approximately one half-meter, so that ninety *zhang* would have been 450 meters, surely an exaggeration.
- 45 Wang Yi-t'ung, *Record of Buddhist Monasteries*, p. 16.
- 46 Two erudite scholar-architectural historians have proposed reconstructions. For their studies, see Yang Hongxun 楊鴻勳, "Guanyu Bei Wei Luoyang Yongningsi ta fuyuan zaotu de shuoming" 關於北魏洛陽永寧寺塔復原造圖的說明 (Explanation of reconstruction sketches of the pagoda of Yongningsi in Northern Wei Luoyang), *Wenwu*, no. 9 (1992), pp. 82–87 and 59; and Zhong Xiaoqing 鐘曉青, "Bei Wei Luoyang Yongningsi ta fuyuan tantao" 北魏洛陽永寧寺塔復原探討 (Inquiry into the reconstruction of the pagoda of Yongningsi in Northern Wei Luoyang), *Wenwu*, no. 5 (1998), pp. 51–64.
- 47 On this pagoda, see Guojia Wenwuju 國家文物局, "Yecheng yizhi: Dong Wei-Bei Qi Fosi taji yiji" 鄴城遺址: 東魏北齊佛寺塔基遺迹 (Remains of Ye: remains of a pagoda foundation from a Buddhist monastery of Eastern Wei-Northern Qi), in *2002 Zhongguo zhongyao kaogu faxian* 中國重要考古發現 (Major archaeological discoveries in China in 2002) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2003), pp. 97–100. The pagoda received a lot of attention at a conference on tall timber pagodas of the sixth and seventh centuries. The conference papers are published in *Tōhōku Gakuin Daigaku Ronsō* 東北學院大學論集, *Rekishi to bunka* 歴史と文化 40 (2006).

- 48 The best record of the city of Ye, *Yezong ji* 鄴中記 (Record inside the Ye capital), written by Lu Hui 陸翹 in the fourth century, describes the capital of the Wei 魏 kingdom. On this text, see Shing Müller, *Yezhongji: eine Quelle zur Materiellen Kultur in Der Stadt Ye in 4. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1993), and Edward Schafer, "The Yeh Chung Chi," *T'oung Pao* 4–6, no. 76 (1990), pp. 147–55. Since five dynasties or kingdoms ruled from Ye, it is possible a monastery survived from the fourth to the sixth century, but there is no evidence of this. Because of the similarities between the plan and that of the Yongningsi pagoda, it is more likely the ruins date to the sixth century.
- 49 Gu Yanwu 顧炎武, *Lidai diwang zhajing ji* 歷代帝王宅京記 (Record of palatial residences through the ages) (Taipei: Guangwen shuju, 1969), *juan* 11, pp. 5a–b.
- 50 Thus information from the survey in the 1930s is extremely important. See Liu Dunzhen 劉敦楨, "Henansheng beibu gu jianzhu diaocha ji" 河南省北古建築調查記 (Record of ancient architecture in the northern part of Henan). *Zhongguo yingzao xueshe huikan* 6, no. 4 (1937), pp. 96–99.
- 51 The three door or window likenesses on each face no doubt have influenced reconstruction drawings of Yongning Monastery pagoda.
- 52 Liu Dunzhen, "Henansheng beibu," pp. 96–99.
- 53 This is according to a stele of 535 quoted in Fu, *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi*, vol. 2, p. 189.
- 54 This is according to a stele written by Li Yong 李邕 (678–747). It is found in Chen Hongchi 陳鴻墀, comp., *Quan Tangwen* 全唐文 (Complete writings of the Tang), *juan* 263 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), p. 1181.
- 55 Liu, "Henansheng beibu," p. 96.
- 56 This information is found in stele inscriptions but not in *Wei shu*. On stele at Songyuesi, see Zhang Jiatai 張嘉泰, "Songyuesi ta" 嵩嶽寺塔 (Songyuesi pagoda), *Wenwu*, no. 6 (1979), pp. 91–92.
- 57 See Guo Tiansuo 郭天鎖 and Wang Guoqi 王國奇, "Dengfeng Songyuesi ta digong qingli jianbao" 登封嵩嶽寺塔地宮清理簡報 (Brief report on the sorting out of the *digong* of Songyue Monastery Pagoda in Dengfeng), *Wenwu*, no. 1 (1992), pp. 14–25. *Tiangong*, literally "heavenly palaces," were found beneath the *chattras*. Objects in them date to the Song period and are considered evidence of a repair.
- 58 Guojia Wenwuju, "Yecheng yizhi," pp. 97–100.
- 59 Guo and Wang, "Dengfeng Songyuesi ta," p. 25.
- 60 Xiao Mo, "Songyuesi ta yuanyuan kaobian" 嵩嶽寺塔淵源考辨 (Investigation of the origins of the Songyuesi pagoda), *Jianzhu xuebao* 建築學報, no. 4 (1997), pp. 49–53.
- 61 Most who have studied Songyuesi pagoda have observed South Asian sources for it. As early as 1956, Alexander Soper suggested the pagoda might be a "successfully faithful reproduction of some Indian model of the contemporary Gupta style." See Laurence Sickman and Alexander Soper, *The Art and Architecture of China* (London and New York: Penguin Books, 1971, 1st integrated ed.), p. 391. Michèle Pirazzoli-T'Serstevens, *Living Architecture: Chinese* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1971), p. 137, echoes this view, suggesting that the Indian Śikhara transformed in Central Asia from its brick or stone appearance to the shape of Songyuesi pagoda and that evidence of that transformation is preserved on walls of Mogao caves. Dietrich Seckel makes the same observation in *The Art of Buddhism*, trans. Ann E. Keep (New York: Greystone Press, 1968), pp. 119–26, and in *Buddhist Art of East Asia*, pp. 64–68, and further observes that the Indian stupa is also the source of Gupta-period Hindu temples. I see the sharp differences between the contemporary Songyuesi and Shentongsi pagodas, the one twelve-sided and the other four-sided, as even more significant than do these authors. I believe the intent of the one is a circle, and the second is a square. The importance of construction of a "circle" with straight edges will be clear in the last section of this article.
- 62 For examples of Mingtang and Biyong reconstructed with eight or more straight edges, see Yang Hongxun 楊鴻勳, *Gongdian kaogu tonglun* 宮殿考古通論 (Discourses on Palace Archaeology) (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 2001), pp. 84, 86, and 321.
- 63 Another possibility, as suggested by Pirazzoli-T'Serstevens, is that the Songyuesi pagoda is the next stage in an evolution that traces eastward across Central Asia. Mud-brick pagodas, often on quadrilateral bases but with circular drums, survive in Niya, Loulan, Rewak, Miran, and Endere, among other sites in Xinjiang from the third or fourth century. Stanley Abe also discusses this kind of evolution in *Ordinary Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), pp. 150–56. For illustrations, see Christoph Baumer, *Southern Silk Road* (Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2000), pp. 62, 109, and 117.
- 64 Jinan Shi Bowuguan 濟南市博物館, *Simenta yu Shengongsi* 四門塔與神通寺 (Four-entry Pagoda and Shentong Monastery) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1981), pp. 3–4.
- 65 On these temples and for additional illustrations, see Susan Huntington, *The Arts of Ancient India* (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1985), pp. 206–13.



- 66 On Baoshan, see Du Xianzhou 杜仙洲, *Baoshan Lingquansi* 寶山靈泉寺 (Lingquan Monastery of Baoshan) (Zhengzhou: Henan Renmin chubanshe, 1992).
- 67 On Xiudingsi and its pagoda, see Henansheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo 河南省文物研究所 et al., *Anyang Xiudingsi ta* 安陽修定寺塔 (The pagoda of Xiuding Monastery in Anyang) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1983); Zhong Xiaoqing, "Anyang Xiudingsi ta chutu mouzhuang zai tanshuo" 安陽修定寺塔出土某磚在談說 (Again discussion of the brick models excavated at Xiuding Monastery pagoda in Anyang), *Wenwu*, no. 3 (2006), pp. 79–86; and Paula Swart and Barry Till, "The Xiudingsi Pagoda: A Buddhist Architectural Masterpiece Unveiled," *Orientalism* (May 1990), pp. 64–76.
- 68 Nor has it been calculated based on the site. The report on Siyuan Fosi is Hu Ping 胡平, "Datong Bei Wei Fangshan Siyuan Fosi yizhi faxian baogao" 大同北魏方山思遠佛寺遺址發現報告 (Excavation Report on the Remains of Siyuan Buddhist Monastery of the Northern Wei in Fangshan), *Wenwu*, no. 4 (2007), pp. 4–26.
- 69 These pagodas are published in many places. In addition to Baumer, cited in n. 63, see Marilyn Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China and Central Asia*, vol. 1, pp. 392–425, and Zhu Yunbao 朱雲寶, "Sichou zhi lushang de Fo ta" 絲綢之路上的佛塔 (Buddhist pagodas on the Silk Roads), *Xiyu yanjiu*, no. 2 (1992), pp. 63–68.
- 70 On Maijishan, see Xia Nai 夏鼐 et al., eds. *Zhongguo shiku: Tianshui Maijishan* (中國石窟: 天水麥積山) (Chinese rock-carved caves: Maijishan in Tianshui) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1998), and Zhang Jinxiu 張錦秀, *Maijishan shiku zhi* 麥積山石窟志 (Record of the Maijishan rock-carved caves) (Lanzhou: Gansu Renmin chubanshe, 2002). On architecture in Maijishan grottoes, see Fu Xinian, "Maijishan shikuzhong suofanying chude Beichao jianzhu" 麥積山石窟中所反映出的北朝建築 (Architecture of the Northern Dynasties as reflected in the Maijishan rock-carved caves), *Wenwu ziliao congkan* 文物資料叢刊 4 (1981), pp. 156–83; repr. in similar versions in Xia Nai et al., *Tianshui Maijishan*, pp. 201–18, and *Fu Xinian jianzhu shi lunwen ji* 傅熹年建築史論文集 (Collected essays in architectural history by Fu Xinian) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1998), pp. 103–35.
- 71 Cave 43 is the burial site of Empress Yifu 乙弗 and is thus dated to 540, the year of her death. For a line drawing that shows the *chiwei*, see Steinhardt, *Chinese Architecture*, p. 79.
- 72 The balls above and to the right of the pillar illustrated in fig. 14 may have a source in an ornamental feature of the Han period. The obverse sides of bronze plates used as coffin decorations in the Chengdu region of Sichuan exhibit similar features known as "pumpkins" in the same positions. For illustrations, see Chongqing Wushanxian Wenwu Guanlisuo 重慶巫山縣文物管理所 et al., "Chongqing Wushanxian Dong Han liujintong paishi de faxian yanjiu" 重慶巫山縣東漢鑲金銅牌飾的發現研究 (Excavation and research on decorative bronze medals of the Eastern Han from Wushan county, Chongqing), *Kaogu*, no. 12 (1998), pp. 77–86.
- 73 For illustrations, see Wang Chunbo 王春波, "Shanxi Pingshun wan Tang jianzhu Tiantai'an" 山西平順晚唐建築天台庵 (A late Tang building at Tiantai'an in Pingshun, Shanxi), *Wenwu*, no. 6 (1993), pp. 34–42.
- 74 The crescent-shaped beam has heretofore been considered evidence that dates an East Asian building to the eighth or ninth century. Liang Sicheng was one of the first to discuss this. See his "Tangzhaotisi Jintang he Zhongguo Tangdai de jianzhu." For study and illustrations of all these cave interiors, see Chen Mingda 陳明達, ed., *Zhongguo meishu quanji* 中國美術全集 (Comprehensive history of Chinese art): *Diaosu bian* 雕塑編 (Sculpture series), vol. 13: *Gongxian, Tianlongshan, Xiangtangshan, Anyang shiku diaoke* 貢獻, 天龍山, 響堂山, 安陽石窟雕刻. (Rock-carved cave sculpture from Gongxian, Tianlongshan, Xiangtangshan, and Anyang) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1989).
- 75 I chose an illustration from Simsim because it is not as well known as many other cave interiors. Its date is circa sixth century.
- 76 Some refer to these as "house-shaped." See Wu Hung, "A Case of Cultural Interaction: House-Shaped Sarcophagi of the Northern Dynasties," *Orientalism* 33 (May 2002), pp. 34–41. There is no evidence of residential architecture from the sixth century with which to compare them or reason to believe that houses were only one room. Based on comparisons from the Sui period (589–617), such as Princess Li Jingxun's sarcophagus of 608, eighth-century coffins in the Shaanxi Provincial Museum, and the main halls of Nanchansi and Tiantai'an, I believe the similarities are with temples.
- 77 It was purchased by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in 1931. On this piece, see Kojiro Tomita, "A Chinese Sacrificial Stone House of the Sixth Century A.D.," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* 40, no. 242 (1942), pp. 98–110, and Lin Shengzhi 林聖智, "Bei Wei Ning Mao shishi de tuxiang yu gongneng" 北魏寧懋石室的圖像與功能 (Imagery and function of the stone

- chamber of Ning Mao of Northern Wei), *Guoli Taiwan Daxue Meishushi yanjiu jikan* 國立臺灣大學 美術史研究集刊 (Taida Journal of Art History) 18, no. 3 (2005), pp. 1–74.
- 79 Wang Kelin 王克林, “Bei Qi Shedi Huiluo mu” 北齊庫狄回洛墓 (The tomb of Shedi Huiluo of Northern Qi), *Kaogu xuebao*, no. 3 (1979), pp. 377–402. I thank Albert Dien for informing me that the surname of this Northern Qi nobleman is pronounced Shedi, rather than Kudi. For the explanation of the pronunciation, see Yao Weiyuan 姚薇元, *Beichao huxing kao* 北朝胡姓考 (Research on “barbarian” names of the Northern Dynasties) (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1958), p. 182. For a theoretical reconstruction of the sarcophagus, see Fu Xinian, *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi*, vol. 2, p. 299.
- 80 The first extensive report on the Shi sarcophagus is Xi'an Shi Wenwu Baohu Yanjiusuo 西安市文物保護研究所, “Xi'an Bei Zhou Liangzhou sabao Shijun mu fajue jianbao” 西安北周涼州薩保史君墓發掘簡報 (Preliminary report on the excavation of the tomb of Lord Shi, sabao in Liangzhou under Northern Zhou, in Xi'an), *Wenwu*, no. 3 (2005), pp. 4–33. See also Yang Junkai, “Carvings on the Stone Outer Coffin of Lord Shi of the Northern Zhou,” in *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, ed. Étienne de la Vaissière and Éric Trombert (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2005), pp. 21–40.
- 81 For illustrations, see Sun Ruxian 孫儒僑 and Sun Haohua 孫毅華, eds., *Dunhuang shiku quanji* 敦煌石窟全集 (Comprehensive study of the rock-carved caves at Dunhuang), vol. 21: *Jianzhu huazhuan* 建築畫卷 (Paintings of architecture) (Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshu guan, 2001), pp. 84–85.
- 82 On Yu Hong's sarcophagus, see Shanxisheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 山西省考古研究所 et al., *Taiyuan Sui Yu Hong mu* 太原隋虞弘墓 (The tomb of Yu Hong of Sui in Taiyuan) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2005).
- 83 He was also a Sogdian. On the couch, see Shaanxisheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 陝西省考古研究所, *Xian Bei Zhou An Qie mu* 西安北周安伽墓 (The tomb of An Qie of Northern Zhou in Xi'an) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2003).
- 84 For information and illustrations of Tianlongshan, including this cave, see Li Qiqun 李裕群 and Li Gang 李鋼, *Tianlongshan shiku* 天龍山石窟 (Rock-carved cave-temples of Tianlongshan) (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2003); for an illustration of the cave 16 façade, see colorpl. 59.
- 85 Liu Dunzhen, “Dingxingxian Bei Qi shizhu” 定興顯北齊石柱 (The Northern Qi stone pillar in Dingxing county), *Zhongguo yingzao xueshe huikan* 5, no. 2 (1934), pp. 28–66; repr. in *Liu Dunzhen wenji*, vol. 2, pp. 38–73, and *Liu Dunzhen quanji*, vol. 2, pp. 170–90. All the stele inscriptions and passages from local and regional records, such as Sun Xingyan's 孫星衍 (1753–1818) in *Jingji jinshi kao* 京畿金石考 (Record of stone inscriptions in the capital), are quoted in Liu's article. The inscriptions are also studied in Liu Shufen 劉淑芬, “Bei Qi Biaoyixiang Yicihui shizhu—Zhong gu Fojiao shehui jiuji de ge'an yanjiu” 北齊標異鄉義慈惠石柱—中古佛教社會救濟的個案研究 (The Northern Qi stone pillar of righteousness, kindness, and beneficence in Biaoyixiang—Research on early Chinese Buddhist relief societies), *Xinshi xue* 新史學 5, no. 4 (1994), pp. 1–47. On the pillar, also see Luo Zhewen, “Yicihui shizhu 義慈惠石柱” (Stone pillar of righteousness, kindness, and beneficence), *Wenwu*, no. 9 (1958), pp. 67–68.
- 86 There is some. For fourteen examples of bracket sets found in Koguryō murals, see Chang Kyōng-ho 張慶浩, *Hanguk ūi chōngt'ong kōnch'uk* 韓國의傳統建築 (Korean traditional architecture) (Seoul: Munye Ch'ulp'ansa, 1992); for bracketing and roof tiling and rafters from a Paekche miniature pagoda, see Yoon Chang-sōp 尹張燮, *Hanguk ūi kōnch'uk* 韓國의建築 (Korean architecture) (Seoul: Seoul Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 1996), p. 121.
- 87 On Chōngnūngsa, see Ricard Hollenweger, “Early Buddhist Architecture of the Three Kingdoms Period in Korea” (PhD diss., École Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne, 1999), pp. 101–29.
- 88 The Three Great Halls and Three Back Halls of the Forbidden City in Beijing are prime examples of the *gong* arrangement.
- 89 The initial report on the Kūmgangsa ruins is published in Chōsen Koseki Kenkyūkai 朝鮮古蹟研究所, *Showa jusan-nendo koseki chōsahyō* 昭和十三年度戶籍調査報 (Excavation report of remains found in the Showa 13 [1938] season) (Tokyo: Chōsen Koseki Kenkyūkai, 1940). It also is discussed in Yun Chang-sōp, *Hanguk ūi kōnch'uk*, pp. 82–83; Chang Kyōng-ho, *Hanguk ūi chōngt'ong kōnch'uk*, pp. 67–68; and Hollenweger, “Buddhist Architecture,” pp. 102–50.
- 90 On these two sites and for bibliography about them, see Hollenweger, “Buddhist Architecture,” pp. 151–54.
- 91 On Daetōngsa, see Karube Jion 輕部慈恩, *Kudara yiseki no kenkyū* 百濟遺跡の研究 (Research on remains of Paekche) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1971), pp. 31–32, and Hollenweger, “Early Buddhist Architecture,” pp. 266–75. The remains at Gunsuri were excavated by a Japanese team from 1935 to 1936; see Hollenweger, “Early Buddhist Architecture,” pp. 281–92. On Kūmgangsa, see Yun Mu-byong 尹武炳, Kūmgangsa: Puyō-gun Ūnsan-myōn Kūmgangri Paekche saji palgul pogo 金

- 剛寺: 扶餘郡恩山面琴公里百濟寺址發掘報告 (Kūmgangsa: Report on the excavated remains of a Paekche monastery on Mount Unsan, Kūmgangri) (Seoul: Kunhip Pangjulgan, 1969); on Chōngrimsa, see Yun Mu-byong, *Chōngrimsaji palgul chosa pogoso* 定林寺址發掘調查報告書 (Excavation report on the remains of Chōngrimsa) (Pusan chikhalsi: Minjok Munhwa, 1986).
- 92 The complete excavation report on Nūngsa is not yet published. For general information and an air view of the plan, see Kungnip Chung'ang Pangmulgwan 국립중앙박물관 (National Museum of Korea), *Paekche t'ūkpyōlchōn* 백제 특별전 (Special Exhibition, Paekche) (Seoul: T'ongchōn Munhwasa, 1999), pp. 211–17.
- 93 This is the famous king associated with the frequently published golden incense burner excavated in his tomb.
- 94 The first excavation at Chōngrimsa was conducted under Fujisawa Kazuo 藤澤一夫, who did not publish his findings. Systematic excavation and publication was undertaken by a team from Ch'ungnam University Museum led by Yun Mu-byong. See Yun Mu-byong, *Chōngrimsaji palgul chosa pogoso*. For comparison of the similarities in statues excavated at Yongningsi and Chōngrimsaji, see Yongsook Pak, "Excavations of Buddhist Temple Sites in Korea since 1960," in *The Buddhist Heritage*, ed. Tadeusz Skorupsk (Tring, UK: Institute of Buddhist Studies, 1989), pp. 157–78.
- 95 The story is recorded in the biography of King Mu in Iryōn 一然 (1206–1289), *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 (History of the Three [Korean] Kingdoms). The text records that the monastery had three separate "Halls of Maitreya's Grand Assemblies," each with its own pagoda and courtyard. For the legend, see Jonathan Best, *A History of the Early Korean Kingdom of Paekche* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006), pp. 176–77.
- 96 On Mirŭksa, see Chang Kyōng-ho, *Paekche sach'al konchuk* 百濟寺刹建築 (Paekche monastery architecture) (Seoul: Yegyong sanopsa, 1991), pp. 90–109; Chang Kyōng-ho, *Mirŭksaji: palgul chosa chunggan yak pogo* 미륵사지 발굴조사 중간약보 (Remains of Mirŭksa: excavation report) (Seoul: Munhwajae Kwalliguk munhwajae yong'uso, 1982); and Kim Chōng-gi 金正基, *Mirŭksa: yujok palgul chosa pogoso* 彌勒寺: 遺蹟發掘調查報告書 (Mirŭksa: excavation report of remains), 2 vols. (Seoul: Munhwajae kwalliguk munhwajae yong'uso, 1989 and 1996).
- 97 On these caves, see Amy McNair, *Donors of Longmen: Faith, Politics, and Patronage in Medieval Chinese Buddhist Sculpture* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007).
- 98 On Hūngnyunsa, see Hollenweger, "Early Buddhist Architecture," pp. 740–46.
- 99 The major source of information on the mountain castle is Jin Xudong 錦旭東, ed., *Wandu shancheng* 丸都山城 (Wandu mountain castle) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2004).
- 100 It is also the subject of the most research. See Youngbok Park, "The Monastery Hwangnyongsa," in Washizuka Hiromitsu et al., *Transmitting the Forms of Divinity* (New York: Japan Society, 2003), pp. 140–53; and Munhwahae Yon'guso 文化財研究所, *Hwangnyongsa yujok palgul chosa pogoso* 皇龍寺遺蹟發掘調查報告書 (Excavation report on remains at Hwangnyongsa) (Seoul: Munhwajae Kwalliguk Munhwajae yong'uso, 1982–84).
- 101 For the tale, see Best, *A History*, pp. 189–90.
- 102 For the comparison, see Kwon Chong-nam 권종남, *Hwangnyongsa kuchuntap*: 皇龍寺 九層塔: (Nine story pagoda of Hwangnyongsa) (Seoul: Misul munhwa, 2006). See also Yang Jeong-seok 梁正錫, "Shiragi Oryūji kyuchō mokuta no zōseini kansuru hikaku shiteki kentō" 新羅皇龍寺 九層木塔の造成に 関する比較史的検討 (A comparative historical examination regarding the construction of the nine-story wooden pagoda of Hwangnyongsa of Silla), *Tōhō Gakuin Daigaku ronso* 40 (2006), pp. 213–32. One hundred meters is the realistic assessment of the Yongningsi pagoda's height.
- 103 The identification of the building types and date are consistent with construction in the eighth century at the monastery Hōryūji, whose earliest buildings are discussed below. Park, "The Monastery Hwangnyongsa," p. 144, gives 854 as the final year of construction at Hwangnyongsa.
- 104 For discussion and illustrations, see Hollenweger, "Early Buddhist Architecture," pp. 147–51.
- 105 Guojia Wenwuju 国家文物局, *Zhongguo mingsheng cidian* 中国名胜词典 (Dictionary of famous places in China) (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 1986), p. 104.
- 106 Liu Youheng 劉友恆 and Nie Lianshun 聶連順, "Hebei Zhengding Kaiyuansi faxian chu Tang digong" 河北正定開元寺發現初唐地宮 (A Tang digong excavated at Kaiyuan Monastery in Zhengding, Hebei), *Wenwu*, no. 6 (1995), pp. 63–68.
- 107 For an illustration, see *Wenwu*, no. 3 (1986), pl. 7.
- 108 Kamunsa/Gameunsa, Sacheonwangsa/Sachonwangsa, and Pulguksa/Bulgeoksa, all dated to the United Silla period, are also monasteries with twin pagodas.



- 109 Some follow *Nihon shoki* and the date 552 for the entry of Buddhism into Japan; others follow *Gangōji engi* and use the year 538. See Delmer Brown, ed. *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 371.
- 110 Each is discussed at length and extensively illustrated in Donald McCallum, *The Four Great Temples* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008). Here only summary information necessary to understand the sixth century is provided. I thank Don McCallum for numerous, helpful discussions and correspondence about the topic of this paper, and for an opportunity to present a version of it at UCLA in November 2008.
- 111 For an illustration of the city, see Fu, *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi*, vol. 2, p. 2. It is possible that through an indirect root this standard plan of Chinese imperial city planning came to Japan and was implemented in early monastery arrangements. I shall explore this possibility in a future study.
- 112 McCallum, *Four Great Temples*, pp. 125–31 and 142–46.
- 113 Tachibanadera is one of seven monasteries associated with Prince Shōtoku, about whom more is said below. For a list and brief discussion of the seven, see J. Edward Kidder, Jr., *The Lucky Seventh: Early Horyūji and Its Time* (Tokyo: Hachiro Yuasa Memorial Museum, 1999), pp. 199–204.
- 114 The year 606 is the earliest date recorded in texts for Chūgūji. See Kidder, *The Lucky Seventh*, p. 177. On Chūgūji, see also Ohashi Kazuaki 大橋 一章, *Nihon no kodera bijutsu* 日本の古寺美術 (The art of Japan's ancient monasteries), vol. 15: *Ikaruga no dera* 斑鳩の寺 (Ikaruga monasteries) (Tokyo: Hoikusha, 1989), pp. 3–79.
- 115 On Yamadadera, see Mary N. Parent, "Yamadadera: Tragedy and Triumph," *Monumenta Nipponica* 39, no. 3 (1984), pp. 307–31 and Parent, "Yamadadera: Excavations 1984," *Monumenta Nipponica* 40, no. 2 (1985), pp. 209–19.
- 116 For the list of buildings, see n. 3.
- 117 Foguangsi, the fourth-oldest Tang hall, mentioned above, was the oldest-known Chinese wooden building from its discovery by Liang Sicheng in 1937 until the 1950s. There is no comprehensive study of Chinese architecture in which the Buddha hall of 857 is not discussed.
- 118 Studies of this building are numerous and extensive. For a comprehensive one, see Ota Saburo, gen. ed., *Nara Roku daiji taikan* (Six great monasteries of Nara), 14 vols. (Tokyo: Iwanami shōten, 1991), vol. 1, pp. 21–31.
- 119 Eric Field, "The Central Core Structural System: A Three-Dimensional Analysis of the Five-Story Pagoda of Hōryūji," in *Hōryūji Reconsidered*, ed. Dorothy Wong with Eric Field (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholar's Press, 2008), pp. 27–47.
- 120 The events at the Hōryūji site are crucial for understanding every other extant building of the seventh and eighth centuries in Japan. Yet as J. E. Kidder points out, following the purge by the Soga, records are spotty (Kidder, *The Lucky Seventh*, pp. 10 and 275–95). The important information about the fire comes from *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (Chronicles of Japan), which records two fires, one in the twelfth moon of 669 in the treasury and the second on the thirtieth day of the fourth moon, during the summer of 670, after which, "not a single building was left." (William G. Aston, trans., *Nihongi, Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697*, 2 vols. [Burlington: Tuttle Press, 1972], vol. 2, pp. 292, 293.) The text does not specify whether the Ikarugadera buildings were the ones lost in the fire or if a monastery already stood at the current site.
- 121 Concerning the date of Hōryūji, see Kōichi Machida, "A Historical Survey of the Controversy as to Whether the Hōryū-ji Was Rebuilt or Not," *Acta Asiatica* 15 (1968), pp. 87–115.
- 122 Kidder, *The Lucky Seventh*, pp. 203 and 207, n. 43, assigns it the date of circa 685, following an inscription on the *chattra*. Mary N. Parent argues for the same date. See her "A Reconsideration of the Role of Hōrinji in the History of Japanese Architecture," *Japan Architect*, 6 pts. (January 1977), pt. 1, p. 83. Sagawa Masatoshi 佐川正敏, "Nihon kodai mokutō kidan no kōchiku gihō to chikashiki shinso oyobi sono Tō Ajiateki kōsatsu" 日本古代木塔基壇の構築技法と地下式心祖およびその東アジア的考察 (Inquiry into the construction techniques of the foundations of ancient Japanese wooden pagodas and underground heartstones), *Tōhoku Gakuin Daigaku ronsō: Rekishi to bunka* 40 (2006), pp. 126–43, dates it to 706. Any of these dates, including 638 for which justification is explained in Parent, renders construction before the rebuilding of Hōryūji.
- 123 Sagawa, "Nihon kodai mokutō kidan no kōchiku gihō," argues that the depth of implantation of the pillar decreases, and that one can date an early wooden pagoda based on that depth. According to him, the Hokkiji pagoda would be dated just after the beginning of the eighth century.
- 124 Parent, "A Reconsideration of the Role of Hōrinji," *Japan Architect*, 6 pts.: January 1977, pp. 77–84; February 1977, pp. 73–80; April 1977, pp. 77–84; May 1977, pp. 77–84; June 1977, pp. 77–84; and July 1977, pp. 77–84.
- 125 McCallum, *The Four Great Temples*, argues that Hōryūji is a provincial

monastery, more humble in all regards than those of the capital in Asuka. If wooden pagodas at Fujiwarakyō towered by comparison to the one constructed by Prince Shōtoku at Ikarugadera, the height would have been consistent with knowledge of imperial building in the Northern Wei and Northern Qi capitals at Luoyang and Ye, respectively, and the capitals of the Three Korean Kingdoms.

126 The most famous Nara-period stone pagoda is at Ishitōji, the monastery named for it in Shiga prefecture. There are many others, some reported to survive from the seventh or eighth century. One at Tō no Mori 塔の森 is illustrated here. Another is at Eizanji, whose octagonal hall is discussed below. For discussion and more illustrations, see Ono Katsutoshi 小野勝年, *Sekizō bijutsu* 石造美術 (Art in stone) (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1970).

127 The shrine, its imagery, and its place in the context of East Asian architecture have been analyzed extensively in Uehara Kazu 上原和, *Tamamushi no zushi: Asuka, Hakuō bijutsu yōshiki shiron* 玉虫の厨子: 飛鳥・白鳳美術様式史論 (Tamamushi shrine: discourse on the history and style of Asuka and Hakuō art) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1991) and Akiyama Terukazu 秋山光和, *Hōryūji Tamamushi no zushi to Tachibana fujin zushi* 法隆寺: 玉虫の厨子と橘夫人厨子 (Tamamushi Shrine and Lady Tachibana Shrine of Hōryūji) (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1993). The association with Empress Suiko traces to a record of a narrow shrine on a pedestal in the Hōryūji Kondō in Kenshin's (1131–1192) *Shōtoku taishi denkokon mokuroku shoi* (Index of old and new legends of Prince Shōtoku). The shrine is recorded in numerous writings of the Meiji period. See also Liu Dunzhen, "Yusheshuzi" zhi jianzhu jiezhi pingbu zhu" 玉虫厨子之

建築價值并補注 (Notes on the architecture of Tamamushi Shrine), in *Liu Dunzhen quanji* 劉敦楨全集 (Complete writings of Liu Dunzhen), 9 vols. (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2007), vol. 1, pp. 28–33, with additional notes to the version published in *Zhongguo yingzao xueshe huikan* 3, no. 1 (1932).

128 On this tapestry and for illustrations of the buildings, see Chari Pradel, "The Tenjokoku Shuchō Mandara: Reconstruction of the Iconography and Ritual Context," in *Images in Asian Religions*, ed. Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara (Vancouver and Toronto: University of British Columbia Press, 2004), pp. 257–89.

129 For discussion and illustrations of *que*, see Chen Mingda, "Handai de shique" 漢代的石闕 (Stone *que* of the Han dynasty), *Wenwu*, no. 12 (1961), pp. 9–23; repr. and slightly edited in *Chen Mingda gu jianzhu yu diaosu shihun* 陳明達古建築與雕塑試論 (Essays on ancient architecture and sculpture by Chen Mingda) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1998), pp. 142–55. Although the structures often are referred to as *shi* 石 (stone) *que*, they were built in both stone and brick. Also see Xu Wenpin 徐文彬 et al., *Sichuan Handai shique* 四川漢代石闕 (Han *que* in Sichuan) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1992), and Liu Dunzhen, "Shandong Pingyixian Hanque" 山東平邑縣漢闕 (Han *que* in Pingyi county, Shandong), *Wenwu cankao ziliao* 文物參考資料, no. 5 (1954), pp. 29–32.

130 The majority of Han tombs with full-size architectural decoration are cliff tombs (*yamu* 崖墓). For excavation reports on some of the most important, see Zhong Zhi 仲治, "Sichuan Santai Qijiang yamu qun 2000-niandu qingli jianbao" 四川三台鄧江崖墓群 2000 一年度清理簡報 (Brief report on the investigation in 2000

of a group of cliff tombs in Qijiang, Santai, Sichuan), *Wenwu*, no. 1 (2002), pp. 16–41; Liu Zhangze 劉章澤 and Li Shaohao 李昭和, "Sichuan Zhongjiang Taliangzi yamu fajue jianbao" 四川中江塔梁子崖墓發掘簡報 (Brief report on a cliff tomb excavated at Taliangzi, Zhongjiang, Sichuan), *Wenwu*, no. 9 (2004), pp. 4–33; and Zhong Zhi et al., "Sichuan Santai Qijiang yamu qun Bailinpo yihaomu fajue jianbao" 四川三台鄧江崖墓群柏林坡一號墓發掘簡報 (Brief report on the excavation of Bailinpo tomb no. 1 from a cliff tomb group at Qijiang, Santai, Sichuan), *Wenwu*, no. 9 (2005), pp. 14–35. As of 2007, thirty-seven cliff tombs had been excavated in the Qijiang region. See Sichuansheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiuyuan 四川省文物考古研究院, Mianyangshi Bowuguan 綿陽市博物館, and Santaixian Wenwu Guanlisuo 三台縣文物管理所, *Santai Qijiang yamu* 三台鄧江崖墓 (Cliff tombs of Qijiang in Santai) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2007).

131 On this tomb, see Liaoningsheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 遼寧省文物考古研究所, "Liaoning Liaoyang Nanjiaojie Dong Han bihua mu" 遼寧遼陽南郊街東漢墓壁畫 (Eastern Han tombs with murals on Nanjiao Street in Liaoyang, Liaoning), *Wenwu*, no. 10 (2008), pp. 34–59.

132 A single central pillar is found in tomb 61 and a tomb in Xincun, both from Luoyang and now in the Luoyang Tomb Museum. For illustrations and discussion, see Huang Minglan 黃明蘭 and Guo Yinqiang 郭引強, *Luoyang Hanmu bihua* 洛陽漢墓壁畫 (Han tombs with murals in Luoyang) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1996), pp. 89 and 123.

133 On this subject, see Wu Hung, "Buddhist Elements in Early Chinese Art," *Artibus Asiae* (1986), pp. 263–76.

134 William C. White, *Tombs of Old Luoyang* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1934), plate

- between pp. 18 and 19. Since then, no one has been able to find the tomb to confirm its shape.
- 135 On this structure, see Luoyangshi Wenwu Guanliju 洛陽市文物管理局, *Gudu Luoyang* 古都洛陽 (Beijing: Chaohua chubanshe, 1999), pp. 150–52.
- 136 On Empress Wu's Mingtang, see Zhongguo Shehui Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo Luoyangchengtui 中國社會科學院考古研究所洛陽城隊, "Tang dongdu Wu Zetian Mingtang yizhi fajue jianbao" 唐東都武則天明堂遺址發掘簡報 (Preliminary report on remains of Wu Zetian's Mingtang in the Tang eastern capital), *Kaogu*, no. 3 (1988), pp. 227–30.
- 137 Zhongguo Shehui Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo Luoyang Gongzuotui 中國社會科學院考古研究所洛陽工作隊, "Sui-Tang Dongdu chengzhi de kancha he fajue xuji" 隋唐東都城址的勘察和發掘續集 (Continuation of investigation and excavation or remains of the Sui-Tang eastern capital), *Kaogu*, no. 6 (1978), esp. pp. 361–62.
- 138 On the architecture of Yumedono, see Saeki Keizō 佐伯啓造, *Yumedono* 夢殿 (Nara: Ikaruga Koksha, 1930–33) and Kitagawa Momō 北川桃雄, *Yumedono* (Tokyo: Sōgensha, 1957). On the complex mingling of fact and legend in the life of Prince Shōtoku, see Michael Como, *Shōtoku: Ethnicity, Ritual, and Violence in the Japanese Buddhist Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).
- 139 Kidder, *The Lucky Seventh*, p. 353.
- 140 On Saiendō, see Kidder, *The Lucky Seventh*, pp. 361–62.
- 141 A record of 989 states that in 765, Fujiwara no Toyonari 藤原の豊成 (704–765) donated land to support a monastery founded by his father, Fujiwara no Muchimaro 藤原の武智麻呂 (680–737), and Lady Fujiwara no Funako 藤原鮎子 donated land in 780. A record of chief abbot Jikkyō ascribed to 1098 states that the monastery was built by Muchimaro in 719, but this is not substantiated in other writings. Muchimaro's ashes are believed to have been reburied under a hill north of Eizanji. The ashes of Fujiwara no Yoshitsugu 藤原の良継 (716–777), Muchimaro's nephew, also are said to have been reburied nearby. Jikkyō's record further states that Fujiwara no Nakamaro 藤原の仲麻呂 (710–764), son of Muchimaro, built the hall as a monument for the eternal rest of his parents. Fukuyama Toshio 福山敏男 and Akiyama Terukazu 秋山光和 date the construction to 763–64. The major study of Eizanji is Fukuyama and Akiyama, *Eizanji Hakkakudō no kenkyū* 榮山寺八角堂の研究 (Research on the octagonal hall of Eizanji) (Kyoto: Benridō, 1951). See also Fukuyama and Akiyama, *Eizanji Hakkakudō* 榮山寺八角堂 (The octagonal hall of Eizanji) (Tokyo: Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 1950). The 763–64 date is argued in both. On this building, see also Tamura Yoshinaga 田村吉永, *Eizanji* (Kyoto: Kawahara shōten, 1948).
- 142 In Japan, octagonal architecture associated with the death of a great man was constructed as late as the seventeenth century, with examples at the Okunoin 奥の院 of the first and third Tokugawa 徳川 shoguns, Ieyasu 家康 (1542–1616) and Iemitsu 家光 (1603–1651), in Nikko. For illustrations of the ground plans, see Okawa Naomi, *Edo Architecture: Katsura and Nikko*, trans. Alan Woodhull and Miyamoto Akito (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill and Heibonsha, 1975), foldout between pp. 60 and 61.
- 143 Alexander Soper, "'Dome of Heaven' in Asia," *Art Bulletin* 29, no. 4 (1947), pp. 225–48.
- 144 Karl Lehman, "The Dome of Heaven," *Art Bulletin* 27, no. 1 (1945), pp. 1–27.
- 145 Soper, "Dome of Heaven," p. 225.
- 146 Ibid.
- 147 Ibid, p. 227.
- 148 *Orient oder Rom: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Spätantiken und Frühchristlichen Kunst* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1901) is typical of Strzygowski's more than forty books and many articles, most of them on or including this subject.
- 149 Heliocentrism is the origin of many cultures in one, or, slightly less controversial, the origin of many cultures in several. Strzygowski and Boas are two of the prolific diffusionists writing in the 1920s through 1940s who argued for heliocentrism. Boas presented his theories in, for example, *General Anthropology* (Boston: Heath and Company, 1938) and *Race, Language, and Culture* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1940). For their implications, see George W. Stocking, Jr., ed. *A Franz Boas Reader: The Shaping of American Anthropology, 1883–1911* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974). Boas's writings are less concerned with Asia than Strzygowski's. For more on the subject, see Robert Lowie, *The History of Ethnological Theory* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1937).
- 150 An expanded discussion of this topic would include the writings of Benjamin Rowland, many of which were focused on Bamiyan and South Asia, such as *Art in East and West: An Introduction through Comparisons* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954); and scholars whose writings influenced him, Alexander Soper, and the other leading art historians of Asia through the 1970s; see, for example, Ananda Coomaraswamy, *Christian and Oriental Philosophy of Art* (New York, Dover Publications, Inc., 1956), based on a lecture given at Boston College in 1939; and Albert von



- Le Coq, *Auf Hellas Spuren in Ostturkistan* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1926).
- 151 Well-known Koguryō tombs in which such ceilings are found include Anak Tomb 3, the Tomb of the Dancers, and Twin Pillars Tomb. For illustrations of these and others, see Kim Kiung 金基雄, *Chōsen hantō no hekiga kofun* 朝鮮半島の壁画古墳 (Tokyo: Rokkō shuppansha, 1980), pp. 31, 50, 52, 57, 62, 74, 80, 87, 98, 105, 108, 114, 122, 129, 145, 148, 152, 156, 162, and 171.
- 152 Rolf Stein, *The World in Miniature: Container Gardens and Dwellings in Far Eastern Religious Thought*, trans. Phyllis Brooks (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987), pp. 148–62, from the French original published in 1985, expresses the standard view of that time. I thank an anonymous reader for reminding me of this.
- 153 This is the date given to the tomb since excavation in 1978. See Huang and Guo, *Luoyang Hannu bihua*, pp. 105–7. For the original report, see Luoyang Bowuguan, “Luoyang Jingyuan Xin Man shiqi bihuamu” (A tomb with murals from the Xin Mang period at Jingyuan, Luoyang), pp. 163–73.
- 154 New finds that justify connections between imperial Rome and Han China are Luo Feng 羅豐, *Hu Han zhi jian: ‘Sichou zhi lu’ yu xibei lishi kaogu* 胡漢之間: ‘絲綢之路’ 與西北歷史考古 (Between Barbarians and Han: The “Silk Roads” and history of the Northwest) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2004); Zhang Qingjie 張慶捷 et al., *4–6 shiji de Bei Zhongguo yu Ou-Ya dalu* 4–6世紀的北中國與歐亞大陸 (North China and the Eurasian continent in the 4th–6th centuries) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2006); and Zhongguo Guojia Wenwuju 中國國家文物局 and Ministero per I Beni e le Attività Culturali, Italy, *Qin-Han—Luoma wenming zhan* 秦漢—羅馬文明展 (Qin-Han and Roman Civilizations Exhibition) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2007).



## BETWIXT AND BETWEEN

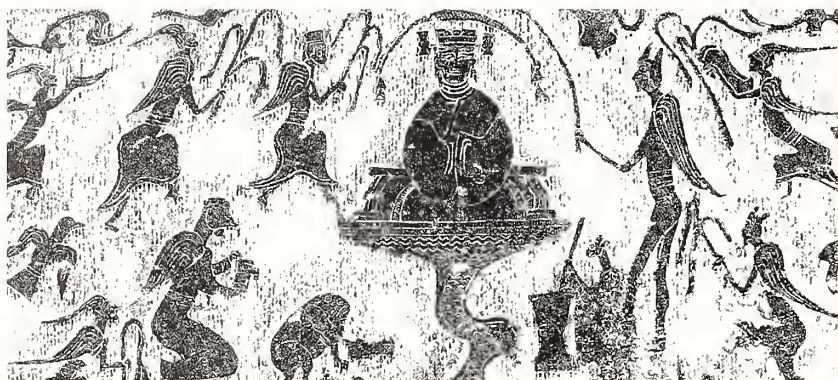
### *Depictions of Immortals (Xian) in Eastern Han Tomb Reliefs*

#### Abstract

Immortals (*xian* 仙) are depicted as feathered sprite-like or dragon- or snake-tailed figures climbing stylized mountains or floating in swirling cloudscapes on tomb reliefs from the Eastern Han dynasty (25–220 CE). Possessing iconographic uniformity in a time of growing regionalism, these images represent immortals as transient figures moving through an intermediate realm where they are often joined by deer, tigers, dragons, birds, heavenly horses (*tianma* 天馬), and other animals. Such imagery is based upon and expands Western Han (206 BCE–8 CE) prototypes and suggests an important association between these figures and the afterlife that is not discussed in textual sources. This paper analyzes the physical hybridity of immortals, their transitory existence, and their role as shaman-like intermediaries, demonstrating that Eastern Han representations of immortals repeatedly emphasize their liminal nature and close connection to the animal world. Their position betwixt and between physical forms and realms of existence was the basis of their spiritual power, enabling them to assist the deceased in their transcendent journey to paradise.

IMMORTALS (*xian* 仙) FIRST APPEARED in various forms decorating Chinese mortuary goods during the second century BCE. By the middle of the Eastern Han dynasty (25–220 CE), bird-human and reptile-human hybrid immortals were frequently found on or near ceilings and pillars as well as around doorways in the four main areas of tomb-relief production (Shandong/Jiangsu; Nanyang, Henan; Sichuan and Shaanxi/Shanxi).<sup>1</sup> Although there are textual correlates to the representation of avian immortals, contemporary texts remain silent regarding the representation of immortals as reptilian hybrids and why such imagery would be placed in a tomb. The popularity of these figures as well as their iconographic uniformity in a time of growing regionalism suggests that they were believed to play an important role in the afterlife that is not explicitly discussed in texts. Concentrating on the representations of immortals during the Eastern Han dynasty, this paper argues that immortals were depicted as liminal but spiritually empowered figures who provided the important function of aiding the soul of the deceased in its transcendent journey to paradise. Many iconographic studies divide representations of immortals into a number of categories, but I think it is first necessary to step back and ask three basic questions regarding their depiction: 1) what do immortals look like, 2) where do they live, and 3) what do they do? As I will demonstrate, their physical bodies, the environment in which they were depicted, and their role as shaman-like mediators all repeatedly stress their connections to the animal world and their position betwixt and between various realms of existence.





1

Immortals with wings worshipping Xiwangmu. Songshan, Shandong, Eastern Han dynasty. After *Zhongguo huaxiang shi quanji*, vol. 2 (Jinan: Shandong meishu chubanshe, 2000), fig. 96.



2

Immortal with quills all over its body. Mizhi, Shaanxi, Eastern Han dynasty. After *Zhongguo huaxiang shi quanji*, vol. 5 (Jinan: Shandong meishu chubanshe, 2000), fig. 58.

### Previous Scholarship

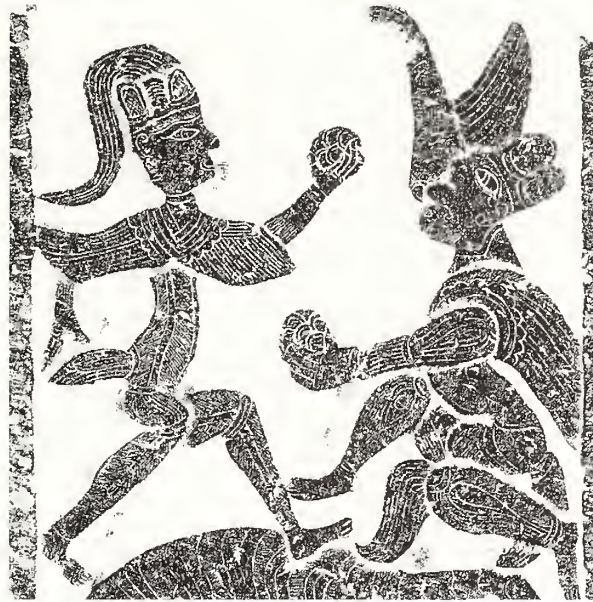
Scholars have discussed the depiction of immortals as anthropomorphic hybrids, their itinerant nature, placement in tombs, and their relationship to Han mortuary beliefs and shamanism. Although Michael Loewe has noted the depiction of immortals as avian and serpentine hybrids, most iconographic studies have categorized representations of immortals as *yuren* 羽人 (feathered men) based on medium, region, or compositional elements.<sup>2</sup> With the exception of Loewe and Sun Zuoyun, the authors of these studies—including those who focused on the desire of Qin and Han dynasty emperors and aristocrats to become immortal as well as the popularity of the cult figure Xiwangmu 西王母—have largely ignored the relationship between these figures and the afterlife.<sup>3</sup>

Other scholars, however, have connected these figures to Han mortuary beliefs, their placement within tombs, and their depiction as ceaselessly mobile beings. Shih Hsio-yen has discussed the prominence of immortals in tomb reliefs from Shaanxi and, in the context of figural representation and scroll patterns between the Han Dynasty and the Six Dynasties Period (220–589 CE), their placement within the tomb and depiction as beings constantly in motion. Loewe has noted the wandering nature of immortals in visual representations and Han mirror inscriptions, and Jean M. James sees this as their defining characteristic. James rejects the identification of the figures depicted leading the deceased to paradise as “immortals,” stating that immortals did not serve as guides for the dead but were placed in the tomb to illustrate life on Mount Kunlun 崑崙山, where the *hun* 魂 (soul) of the deceased traveled on its journey skyward. Martin J. Powers has discussed techniques for representing immortals’ movement across space and their placement in tombs either alongside apotropaic figures or above Confucian sages. He argues that in tombs from Shandong and Northern Jiangsu, the world of immortals is often transformed into a Confucianized paradise.<sup>4</sup> Many scholars have noted connections between immortals and shamanism in the context of Warring States (475–221 BCE) and Han ascension literature, tales of the *fangshi* 方士 who tried to dupe the First Emperor (reigned 221–10 BCE) and Emperor Han Wudi 漢武帝 (reigned 140–87 BCE), and the development of aspects of later religious Daoism.<sup>5</sup> Building on the work of these scholars, this paper is the first in English to focus on the representation of immortals on Eastern Han tomb reliefs. It argues that representations of immortals repeatedly stress their liminality and close connection to the animal world, either through their physical bodies, the landscape that surrounds them, or the actions that they perform.





3  
Immortal with wispy, feather-like clothing and dragons. Yinan, Shandong, Eastern Han dynasty. After *Zhongguo huaxiang shi quanji*, vol. 1 (Jinan: Shandong meishu chubanshe, 2000), fig. 198.



4  
"Tattooed" immortals holding the elixir of immortality. Baizhuang, Linyi, Shandong, Eastern Han dynasty. After *Zhongguo huaxiang shi quanji*, vol. 3 (Jinan: Shandong meishu chubanshe, 2000), fig. 20.

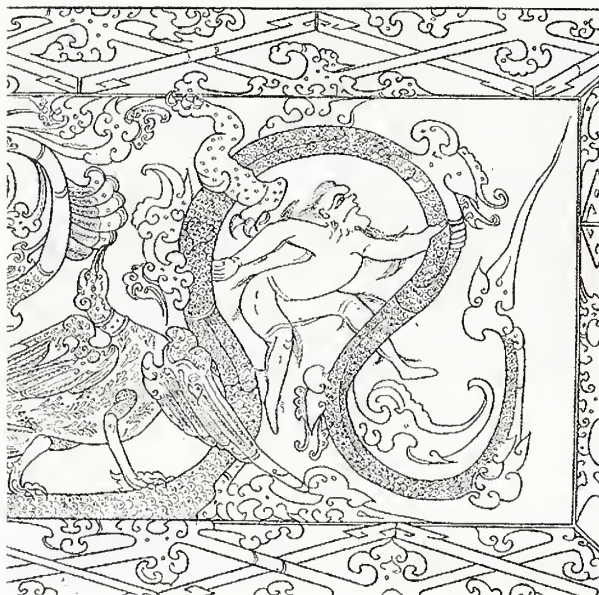
### The Physical Characteristics of the Immortal

Previous iconographical studies have focused on the depiction of immortals as avian hybrids, hypothesizing their origins and distinguishing them from other part-bird and part-human creatures.<sup>6</sup> These studies have clarified the iconographical genesis of and differences among the images, but they have ignored a number of other significant physical characteristics shared by immortals. Although winged figures dominate the Eastern Han iconography of immortality, some figures are illustrated as reptilian hybrids.<sup>7</sup> Many also possess a number of characteristics whose importance has yet to be addressed, including androgyny, long hair, exaggerated nonhuman facial features, tattoo-like markings, and nudity. I call these "secondary characteristics" because they may be viewed as extensions of the concept of immortals as avian or reptilian hybrids. Like physical hybridity, these attributes connect immortals to the natural/animal rather than the civilized/human world. I will first investigate the depiction of immortals as avian and reptilian hybrids and then examine how this representation was strengthened by the addition of secondary physical characteristics. This examination will demonstrate that during the Eastern Han dynasty, immortals were believed to be spiritually empowered figures whose physical ambiguities mirrored their marginal existence betwixt and between the realms of heaven and earth.

### Avian and Serpentine Hybrids

During the Eastern Han dynasty, immortals were most often depicted as avian hybrids. Variations exist upon this theme with representations ranging from figures with wings protruding from their backs to those with small quills covering the entire body (figs. 1, 2). Such feathering is also represented by wispy plume-like clothing that flares out at the elbows and around the knees (fig. 3) or a kind of feathered headdress. On some figures, the feathers seem to be almost "tattooed" on the immortal (fig. 4).

The representation of immortals as bird- or serpent-like beings suggests that during the Eastern Han dynasty, people believed some kind of bodily transformation



5

5  
Immortal on the inner red coffin  
from Mawangdui Tomb No. 1, ca. 168  
BCE. Line drawing after *Changsha  
Mawangdui yi hao Han mu*, vol. 1  
(Beijing: Wenwu chunabshe, 1980),  
fig. 25.

was necessary to transcend mortality. Bird imagery took pride of place and a number of immortals, such as Wang Ziqiao 王子喬, were said to have turned into birds and flown off to heaven.<sup>8</sup> Although the exact origins of this belief are unclear, it was probably based on earlier totemistic or shamanistic traditions; one ancient variation of the graph for *xian* also means to “rise up” or “soar like a bird.” Such linguistic associations may suggest some sort of folklore involving a birdlike dance or ecstatic identification with a divine bird.<sup>9</sup> Similar cross-cultural associations between the soul and ascension have been noted by Poo Mu-Chou. In ancient Egypt, the *Ba*-soul was shown as a bird with a human head and had the ability to fly and leave the tomb. The ancient Greeks also believed that the souls of the dead were provided with wings.<sup>10</sup> Avian associations with immortality may also have resonance with descriptions of several groups of people in the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 (Classics of Mountains and Seas), a geographical encyclopedia completed during the early Han dynasty. These include the Undying People (*bushi min* 不死民), the Feathered People (*yumin* 羽民), and several other groups whose physical characteristics are similar to those of immortals depicted on Eastern Han tombs.<sup>11</sup>

The visual correlates of this phenomenon first appear on burial goods from Mawangdui 馬王堆 Tomb No. 1 (circa 168 BCE). The lacquer coffins and the funerary banner from this tomb are the earliest coherent precursors to the Eastern Han iconography of immortality and include the representation of a scantily clad immortal depicted with feather-like tufts of hair around his elbows, knees, and other parts of his body (fig. 5). Some of the other creatures on the black lacquer coffin are probably immortals as well. These figures are the first of several probable immortals who appear in tombs on coffins, murals, and banners during the second and first centuries BCE.<sup>12</sup>

The appearance of such figures, although based on much older beliefs, rose to prominence during the reign of Han Wudi, who is famous for his obsession with living forever. During his reign, texts and stories drew associations between birds and immortality. According to Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (179–104 BCE), a scholar at Wudi’s court, cranes in particular were thought to have the power of long life.<sup>13</sup>



Luan Da 樂大, one of the many charlatans who promised Wudi immortality, wore feathered clothes and pretended to be an immortal when he received the rank of “General of the Heavenly Way” from an envoy who was similarly dressed.<sup>14</sup>

The earliest textual source describing immortals as winged creatures is found in the “Yuan You” 原游 (The Far-off Journey), a poem from *Chuci* 楚辭 (Songs of the South) that was probably written around the beginning of the first century BCE<sup>15</sup>:

Having heard this precious teaching, I departed,  
And swiftly prepared to start on my journey.  
I met the Winged Ones on the Hill of Cinnabar;  
I tarried in the ancient land of Immortality.  
In the morning I washed my hair in the Valley of Morning;  
In the evening I dried myself on the coasts of heaven.<sup>16</sup>

The text that clearly identifies the winged images on tomb reliefs as immortals was written slightly later by the social critic Wang Chong 王充 (27–97 CE):

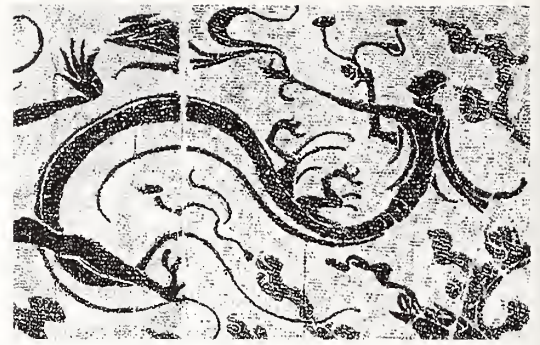
In representing the bodies of genii one gives them a plumage, and their arms are changed into wings with which they poise in the clouds. This means an extension of their lifetime. They are believed not to die for a thousand years. These pictures are false, for they are not only false reports in the world, but also fancy pictures. However, man in reality does not belong to the class of crickets and moths. In the thirty-five kingdoms beyond the sea there live plumigerous and feathered tribes ... These people are the produce of their soil, it cannot be said that their bodies were covered with plumage and feathers through the influence of the *Tao*. *Yü* and *Yi* visited *His Wang Mu*, but she is not reported to have had a plumage and feathers. There are also immortals in foreign countries, but they are not described as having a plumage and feathers, and, conversely, the plumigerous and feathered tribes are not said to be immortals, these attributes can not imply immortality. How then can it be inferred that the genii must live forever, because they have wings?<sup>17</sup>

This section from the *Lunheng* 論衡 (Critical Essays) is the longest passage from an Eastern Han text that both describes contemporary conceptions of immortals and refers to their visual representations. Although Wang Chong seeks to deny contemporary conceptions of winged immortals and their ascension to immortality, he demonstrates just how popular the idea of immortals as avian hybrids had become by the Eastern Han dynasty.



6

6  
Immortals with serpentine legs waiting on Xiwangmu. Wu Liang Shrine, Shandong, ca. 151 CE. After *Zhongguo huaxiang shi quanji*, vol. 1 (Jinan: Shandong meishu chubanshe, 2000), fig. 57.



7

7  
Immortal with dragon haunches for the lower half of its body. Nanyang, Henan, Eastern Han dynasty. After *Zhongguo huaxiang shi quanji*, vol. 6 (Jinan: Shandong meishu chubanshe, 2000), fig. 129.

Although winged figures were popular on Eastern Han tomb reliefs, immortals were also depicted with serpentine features. In one relief from Shandong, the lower halves of the bodies have two snake-like legs or the single tale of a serpent, and another immortal from Henan has the haunches of a dragon (figs. 6 and 7). The connection between serpents and immortals goes beyond these fused figures, however, as immortals are also depicted accompanied by dragons or grasping snakes (figs. 3 and 8).

The prevalence of serpentine imagery in the iconography of immortality is related to the Han belief in the power of reptiles to alter their form and their associations with the *dao* 道, described as “now dragon, now snake” in ancient Chinese texts.<sup>18</sup> Although during the Han dynasty snakes were believed to have special transformative and regenerative powers because they shed their skin, a particular mythology surrounded dragons, associating them with rain, clouds, and fertility. Dragons were also believed to be the progenitors of several ancient sages and emperors.<sup>19</sup>

Although there are no textual correlates that described immortals as serpentine hybrids, an Eastern Han myth did explain that Huangdi 黄帝 had ascended to heaven on a dragon, mirroring the frequent depiction of immortals with dragons on tomb reliefs.<sup>20</sup> In addition, from as early as the Warring States period, dragons were viewed as vehicles for the soul, and on several funerary banners and tomb murals dating to the Warring States period and the Western Han dynasty the deceased is depicted riding on a dragon.

In textual sources the best of examples of hybrid creatures that resemble Eastern Han serpentine immortals are the two sons of Huangdi who appear in the *Shanhaijing*. In this text they are said to stand on several snakes and have human faces with snake-draped ears and the bodies of birds.<sup>21</sup> Although in no way an accurate description of later immortals, these and other figures found in the *Shanhaijing* and on Warring States and Han lacquer and bronze vessels bear witness to a tradition of divine hybrid figures from which Eastern Han artists and patrons could have drawn. Such figures can also be seen on one of the black lacquer coffins from Mawangdui Tomb No. 1, which is decorated with creatures that are pursuing or catching snakes, reminiscent of the later snake-grasping immortal from Shanxi (fig. 8).

Another visual antecedent for Eastern Han serpentine hybrids is found on the silk banners recovered from Mawangdui Tomb Nos. 1 and 3 that have been interpreted as depicting the journey of the soul to paradise (fig. 9). Loewe describes the figure at the top of the banner from Mawangdui Tomb No. 1 as Lady Dai, “sloughing off her mortal coil as easily as a snake sheds the skins that he discards.”<sup>22</sup> John





8

8  
Immortal Handling a Snake. Lishi, Shanxi, Eastern Han dynasty. After *Zhongguo huaxiang shi quanji*, vol. 5 (Jinan: Shandong meishu chubanshe, 2000), fig. 267.



9

9  
Detail of the funerary banner from Mawangdui Tomb No. 1, ca. 168 BCE. After *Changsha Mawangdui yihao Han mu*, vol. 2 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe), fig. 72.

S. Major has explained this figure and a similar figure at the top of the banner from Mawangdui Tomb No. 3 as “the apotheoses of the occupants of the tombs, and their serpentine tails are indicative of their transformation into godlike (or divine ancestor) figures in the celestial realm.”<sup>23</sup> These figures as well as earlier banners and the snake-grasping figures on the black lacquer coffin from Tomb No. 1 suggest that at least by the Warring States and Western Han periods, snakes and dragons were associated with transformation and the ascension of the soul to heaven.

The depiction of immortals as avian and serpentine hybrids was part of a larger tradition in ancient China in which sages, deities, and foreigners were described as anthropomorphic hybrids. In a number of early texts, Huangdi is said to have four faces, four eyes, and the body of a dragon or bear. Fu Xi 伏羲 and Nü Wa 女媧 are also depicted in Eastern Han tombs as human-serpent hybrids. The *Xunzi* 荀子 and a number of other ancient texts argue that physical abnormality was a condition of sagehood, and in the *Shanhaijing* there is no end to references of people who are half-man and half-beast. As Mark Edward Lewis has noted, these beliefs were closely tied to the ancient Chinese practice of physiognomy, the idea that the sages responsible for the founding of the Chinese world order were nonhuman progeny, had superhuman status, and were closely linked to nature.<sup>24</sup> This argument suggests that immortals were part of a larger group of supernatural beings in ancient China that were viewed as marginal but spiritually empowered figures closely connected to the animal world.

### Secondary Characteristics

Beyond their avian and serpentine features, immortals possessed a number of secondary characteristics that further demarcated and enhanced their liminal status while connecting them to the animal world: androgyny, large ears, long hair, exaggerated nonhuman facial features, tattoo-like markings, and nudity. Many of these traits also appear in visual and textual depictions of foreigners, suggesting a general connection with those living outside the Chinese political, cultural, and spiritual sphere.<sup>25</sup>

On most reliefs, immortals are depicted as lithe beings whose sex is not clearly defined. This ambiguity is stronger in figures that are more animal than human and





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Immortals with breasts playing *liubo*. Xinjin, Sichuan, Eastern Han dynasty. After *Zhongguo huaxiang shi quanji*, vol. 7 (Jinan: Shandong meishu chubanshe, 2000), fig. 201.

can be seen on two figures from Sichuan who lack any distinguishing sexual characteristics except for their small protruding breasts (fig. 10). Rather than clearly defining these creatures as female, however, the breasts only seem to heighten their genderless identity. The sexual ambiguity of immortals is stressed in a passage from the *Liezi* 列子, which is dated to the fourth century CE but is thought to be a compilation of many passages from earlier texts:

Upon the mountains there lives a Divine Man, who inhales the wind and drinks the dew, and does not eat the five grains. His mind is like a bottomless spring, his body is like a virgin's. He knows neither intimacy nor love, yet immortals and sages serve him as minister.<sup>26</sup>

The representation of immortals as sexually ambiguous beings suggests that their transformative powers were not associated with sexual reproduction. It may be the case that their spiritual powers were considered irreconcilable with normal reproductive capabilities suggested by gender or that these beings were believed to combine the principles of the feminine (*yin* 陰) and the masculine (*yang* 陽) in their physical form.<sup>27</sup> It may also have been believed that once a person had transcended mortality he or she would no longer be concerned with the sexual desires associated with worldly existence.<sup>28</sup> This is the only one of the secondary physical characteristics that does not connect immortals to the animal world but instead expresses their marginal status through sexual ambiguity.

In an article about the depiction of barbarians in Han art, Zheng Yan notes that these figures are often placed beside immortals and mythical animals in tombs (fig. 11). In physical terms, he sees the immortals' long ears and flowing hair as visual counterparts to the high noses and deep-set eyes that are characteristic of representations of foreigners in Han tombs (see fig. 4 for long hair and figs. 1–3, 6, 8, 10, 13 16, and 18 for long ears).<sup>29</sup> In addition, a tradition claimed Laozi had long ears, which were considered a sign of wisdom.<sup>30</sup> Unkempt hair, however, clearly demarcates immortals as separate from the (civilized) world of the living. As Hayashi Minao showed in a detailed study of hairstyles and headdresses in Shang and Zhou China, only figures that are demons or associated with the dead do not wear their



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Image of a foreigner with mythical animals and immortals. Linyi, Shandong, Eastern Han dynasty. After Zheng Yan, "Barbarian Images in Han Period Art," *Oriental Art* 29, no. 6 (June 1998), fig. 3.

hair pulled back or in some kind of special headdress.<sup>31</sup> Long, free-flowing hair visually separates immortals from their mortal counterparts. Zheng Yan also notes that both foreigners and immortals have "strange non-human faces, and mysterious god-like qualities."<sup>32</sup> Although it is very difficult to pinpoint an exact facial type, immortals are often depicted with accentuated features such as protruding chins, noses, and large eyes.

Two other attributes—which are not noted by Zheng Yan but clearly are associated with animals and people who live on or beyond the borders of Chinese civilization—are tattoo-like markings and nudity (figs. 4 and 10). As Carrie E. Reed has pointed out, in ancient China the tattoo was often cited as the epitome of the practice of many foreign and, in the mind of the Chinese, uncivilized people as it was like the skin of an animal or a water creature.<sup>33</sup> Immortals that appear to be naked or at least "clothed" only in their feathers or wispy, feather-like dresses also suggest an identification with the animal world and foreigners, who are often described in textual sources as part-animal or as following customs contrary to Chinese norms.<sup>34</sup>

A counterpoint to depictions of immortals as naked "wild men" with exaggerated features is found in images where immortals, dressed in garments that contemporary Chinese would have worn at court, are shown worshipping the goddess Xiwangmu or her male counterpart Dongwanggong 東王公 (figs. 1 and 6). These winged, well-dressed figures are found predominantly in tombs from Shandong, sometimes directly above representations of Confucian worthies where, as Powers has argued, the world of immortals has been transformed into a Confucianized paradise. These images bear witness to a growing bureaucratization and secularization of the spirit world that culminated in immortals being shown in successive dynasties as fully human without hybrid characteristics.<sup>35</sup>

### *Hybridity, Marginalization, and Spiritual Power*

Although a thorough visual and textual analysis of hybrid figures in ancient China lies beyond the scope of this paper, my analysis of the physical characteristics of immortals in tomb reliefs points to a common conception of marginalized but spiritually empowered figures. In ancient China, figures who could control certain aspects of nature or the world beyond the grave were often described as part animal and part human. It is clear from the cited examples that both the primary and secondary physical attributes of immortals were created from a dichotomy that posited the natural (animal) world against the (civilized) world of man and also saw





12  
Immortals climbing and atop a mountain. Qingjian, Shaanxi, Eastern Han dynasty. After *Zhongguo huaxiang shi quanji*, vol. 5 (Jinan: Shandong meishu chubanshe, 2000), fig. 205.

these categories as transparent and mutable. Physical ambiguity established a connection with the natural world from which immortals, sages, and deities derived some of their power. Hybridity in the case of immortals most clearly referred to their ability to metamorphose, which was the basis of their spiritual power over death and the malignant forces that were believed to lie beyond the grave.<sup>36</sup>

Hybridity, however, was not always viewed as a positive attribute. This can be seen in the depictions in visual and textual sources that debased foreign peoples and legitimized the established Chinese world order. As Poo Mu-chou noted in his study of the representation of foreigners in ancient China, Egypt, and Mesopotamia, “others” were often compared with the native self in a culture versus nature dichotomy. Therefore, the state of being “other” was equated with the animal world and foreigners described as acting like animals.<sup>37</sup>

A very similar rhetoric seems to have operated in terms of the representations of sages, deities, and immortals, but their ability to defy ontological categories was seen in a positive light and as a source of spiritual power. In this sense, immortals gained their power within Han dynasty tombs similar to the ways in which representations of barbarians functioned in tombs during the Tang dynasty (618–906 CE). Marc Samuel Abramson points out that, during the Tang dynasty, “the barbarians’ ambiguity and their transgressive nature as crossers of frontiers and violators of boundaries ... made them potent sources of power and prestige.”<sup>38</sup> As Zheng Yan has noted, similar motivations were also why foreigners were placed alongside immortals and mythical animals in Han dynasty tombs.<sup>39</sup> The danger and instability of occupying such an ambiguous position, however, perhaps is made most clear by the gradual loss over time of the hybrid characteristics of sages, deities, and immortals. Although a topic for further research, this suggests that such attributes became increasingly incompatible with the idea of immortality and divinity as the Han dynasty progressed.<sup>40</sup>

### The World of Immortals

The physical ambiguity of immortals in Han dynasty tombs was grounded in a tradition that saw such characteristics as indicating both liminality and spiritual power. Similar themes are also stressed in Eastern Han tomb reliefs through the depiction of immortals amid mountainous terrain and swirling cloudscares or in compositions devoid of landscapes or architectural features. In the following analysis, I will address the significance of these two trends, arguing that the frequency with which immortals are depicted on or near mountains was based upon Han ideas of immortal paradise and the ancient Chinese conception of mountains as sacred but dangerous realms. At the same time, reliefs devoid of background elements show the desire to depict immortals as incessantly mobile beings roaming





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Animals frolicking with an immortal amid an undulating landscape/ cloudscape. Mizhi, Shaanxi, Eastern Han dynasty. After *Zhongguo huaxiang shi quanji*, vol. 5 (Jinan: Shandong meishu chubanshe, 2000), fig. 63.

14

Line drawing of a panel from an inlaid bronze chariot ornament showing the fusion of the *yunqi* motif and mountain imagery popular during the Western Han dynasty. Sanpanshan, Hebei, Western Han dynasty. After Zheng Luanming, "Dingzhou Sanpanshan cuo jin yin tong che santing wenshi fenxi," *Wenwu chunqiu*, no. 3 (2000), fig. 2.

the realms between heaven and earth. An analysis of both sets of reliefs will demonstrate that it is the journey to and not the characteristics of paradise that are stressed in these images.

In Eastern Han tomb reliefs, immortals are most commonly represented climbing treelike mountains or in a stylized landscape that dualistically functions as clouds and undulating hills (figs. 12 and 13). This stylized landscape was an outgrowth of the fusion of the *yunqi* 雲气 cloud motif with elements of mountain imagery popular during the Western Han dynasty (fig. 14)<sup>41</sup> and suggests that immortals were believed to inhabit a mountainous world that was also directly associated with the heavens.

During the Eastern Han dynasty, these motifs were grounded in the conception of mountains as the gate or location of immortal paradise and as a sacred, but perilous wilderness. In Han literature, immortals lived either in the east on the Islands of the Blessed, in the west on Mount Kunlun, or on several of the sacred mountains of China, such as Taishan 泰山 or Huashan 華山.<sup>42</sup> Descriptions of these mountains clearly refer to them as an axis-mundi connecting the profane and sacred worlds. The *Liezi* offers a picture of the Five Islands of the Blessed in the East China Sea:

To the East of the Gulf of Chi-li, who knows how many thousands and millions of miles, there is a deep ravine, a valley truly without bottom ... Within it are five mountains, called Tai-yü, Yüan-chiao, Fang-hu, Ying-chou, and P'eng-lai. These mountains are thirty thousand miles high, and as many miles round; the tablelands on their summits extend for nine thousand miles. It is seventy thousand miles from one mountain to the next, but they are considered close neighbors ... The men who dwell there are all of the race of immortal sages, who fly, too many to be counted, to and from one mountain to another in a day and a night.<sup>43</sup>

The Islands of the Blessed figure prominently in stories that highlight the First Emperor and Han Wudi's obsession with becoming immortal and seem to have been popular during the Western Han. Mount Kunlun is described in the *Huainanzi* 淮南子:

If one climbs to a height double that of the Kunlun Mountains, (that peak) is called Cool Wind Mountain. If one climbs it, one will not die. If one climbs to a height that is doubled again, (that peak) is called Hanging Garden. If one ascends it, one will gain supernatural power and be able to control the wind and the rain. If one climbs to a height that is doubled yet again, it reaches up to Heaven itself. If one mounts to there, one will become a god ...<sup>44</sup>

Kunlun, the Western Paradise where the goddess Xiwangmu dwelled, is frequently mentioned in other Han texts. By the Eastern Han dynasty, this view of immortal paradise had become the most popular.<sup>45</sup>

Mountains in ancient China were also conceptualized as divine but treacherous realms. Although gradually the potentially malignant elements that inhabited mountains were replaced by dead humans who filled official posts in the supernatural bureaucracy, originally most beings on mountains were regarded as dangerous because of their unpredictability, amorality, or supernatural powers. The *Shanhaijing* describes a number of mountains deities and spirits that are monstrous hybrids<sup>46</sup> and must be ritually pacified. In a later text, the *Baopuzi* 抱朴子 (Master Embracing Simplicity), Ge Hong 葛洪 (283–343 CE) eloquently describes the wonders and dangers of mountains:

All mountains, whether large or small, have gods and spirits. If the mountain is large, the god is great; if the mountain is small, the god is minor. If someone enters the mountain possessed of no magical arts, he will certainly suffer harm. Some will fall victim to acute diseases or be wounded by weap-





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Boshan lu excavated from the tomb of Dou Wan (d. 104 BCE) at Mancheng, Hebei. After *Mancheng Hanmu fajue baogao* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1980), vol. 2, fig. 22, and vol. 1, fig. 171.

ons. When frightened and uneasy, some will see lights and shadows, others will hear strange sounds. Sometimes a huge tree will topple, though there is no wind, or a cliff will collapse for no reason, striking and killing people. Sometimes the man will flee in confusion, tumbling down a cavern or into a gorge; other times he will encounter tigers, wolves, and poisonous insects that attack men. One cannot enter a mountain lightly!<sup>47</sup>

I argue that both the benevolent and malignant elements of mountain lore are referenced in Eastern Han tomb reliefs that depict immortals amid mountainous terrain. In addition to serving as the gateway or location of the land of immortality, mountains also suggest the borderlands through which the soul must pass after death. During the Han dynasty, it was believed that the soul would encounter many dangers on its journey to paradise, including malignant ghosts, spirits, and ferocious beasts. Wu Hung has argued that these fears were the central motivation behind the development of various shamanistic practices in ancient China to guide or protect the soul in its journey.<sup>48</sup> Such dangers are related in “Zhao hun” 招魂 (Summons of the Soul) and “Da Zhao” 大招 (Great Summons), poems from the *Chuci* that describe shamans who work to keep souls from departing or revive corpses. Menaces are also referenced in an inscription on an Eastern Han tomb excavated in Suide 綏德, Shaanxi,<sup>49</sup> and mountainous terrain would have provided an excellent background for such dangers.

The same dual conception of mountains as representing both the land of immortality and the dangerous regions through which the soul would pass can be seen on the “magic mountain” censers (*boshan lu* 博山爐) that were popular during the Han dynasty (fig. 15). These objects are usually interpreted as representing Penglai 蓬萊 or Kunlun, but a number of them are populated with figures whose connection to the theme of immortality is unclear.<sup>50</sup>

In Eastern Han tomb reliefs such incongruous and potentially noxious elements have disappeared. Instead animals are depicted frolicking alongside immortals in cloudscaapes, ascending mountainous terrain, or on reliefs where no landscape elements are present (figs. 3, 12, 13, 18). I argue that these compositions



depict the dangerous realms between heaven and earth from which hazardous elements have been exorcised. Such scenes suggest the liminality upon which the spiritual power of immortals was based as well as their power to pacify such dangerous regions.<sup>51</sup>

Beyond mountainous terrain or stylized cloudscapes, however, representations of immortals rarely depict land formations, fauna, or architectural features.<sup>52</sup> This is noteworthy because immortal paradise and all its wonders were eloquently described in ancient prose, poetry, and ballads. The discrepancy between text and image is partially because in most ancient Chinese representations landscape elements are absent. But the primary reason many of these images do not depict the heavenly realm is because immortals are purposely depicted as beings who roam the world between heaven and earth. This incessant mobility is noted in an inscription on a Han dynasty mirror:

The *Shang-fang* made this mirror and truly it is very fine. Upon it are immortal beings oblivious of old age. When they thirst they drink from springs of jade, when they hunger they feed on jujubes. They roam at large throughout the world, wandering between the four oceans. They rove at will on the well-known hills, plucking the Herb of Life.<sup>53</sup>

In tomb reliefs, the itinerant nature of immortals is suggested by cloud-like formations that become one with the bodies of animals and immortals or, more commonly, in reliefs where the plumage of the immortal conveys a sense of movement through space. In these reliefs, movement is indicated by the feathers (or cloud forms) that fly away from the immortal's arms and legs in the opposite direction from the forward movement of the body (figs. 2 and 3). This technique was based on the Western Han pictorial conventions seen on the black lacquer coffin from Mawangdui Tomb No.1, where movement through time and space is indicated by swirling clouds and the animals and spirits that scamper upward through the composition. Powers has argued that this sense of movement is achieved through the "extension-oriented" structure of individual components within the composition that show how the immortal's body parts were created by separate dendritic vectors. According to Eugene Wang, the form of the clouds and animals on the black lacquer coffin express movement across time and space, mapping out the process of rejoining the forces of yin and yang in order to rejuvenate the deceased.<sup>54</sup>

The dearth of landscape elements and architectural features in scenes that depict immortals in Eastern Han tomb reliefs, combined with the focus of many on movement through space, indicates that the liminal spatial nature of immortals

and the journey to paradise is emphasized in these compositions. Similar ideas are also stressed in reliefs where immortals are depicted on or approaching mountains, or in stylized cloudscapes that highlight their location between heaven and earth and the pacification of the dangerous realms believed to exist beyond the grave.

### **The Habits of Immortals**

The physical and spatial liminality of immortals is further stressed by the actions they perform on Eastern Han tomb reliefs, which include:

1. carrying the fungus or elixir of immortality
2. playing game called *liubo* 六博
3. serving Xiwangmu
4. frolicking with various animals
5. riding birds and beasts
6. being pulled in a chariot by birds or animals<sup>55</sup>

I will discuss the first three individually as they relate to specific aspects of immortality lore and the worship of Xiwangmu and then examine those that deal with animals. The group of reliefs that feature animals, combined with the physical characteristics of immortals and their environment, are essential to understanding the prevalence and function of immortals on Eastern Han tomb reliefs.

### ***Carrying the Fungus/Elixir of Immortality***

One of the most common images found in tombs is of an immortal with its arms outstretched and holding a plant (figs. 2, 7, 12, 13 and 18). Representations of this flora vary, but it is meant to symbolize the fungus of immortality (*lingzhi* 靈芝) that, according to ancient Chinese legend, grew on secluded mountains and in the Eastern and Western paradises. Once a person had consumed the fungus, he could become an immortal and ascend to heaven.<sup>56</sup> Slightly less common are images of immortals holding round spherical objects (fig. 4). These balls signify the elixir of immortality, after it was pounded by the jade hare and then rolled into balls by the hare's companion, the toad.<sup>57</sup> Such procedures for making and ingesting the elixir of immortality are referred to in a Han dynasty ballad:

The command comes: "Mortal obey my word!  
Gather the sacred herb from the tip of the Illusion Tree."  
A white hare kneels and pounds the herb, a toad makes the pill.  
I offer up to the throne a jade dish:  
"Eat this drug, it will make you divine ..."<sup>58</sup>

The recipient of the fungus and therefore the elixir in these images is undoubtedly the deceased whose soul, upon death, could devour them and be transformed and transported to paradise.

### *Playing Liubo*

Immortals are also depicted on mountaintops or hovering mid-air playing the game *liubo* (fig. 10). Although most prevalent in Sichuan, such scenes appear in all regions during the Eastern Han dynasty and have been interpreted as the performance of magic or divination.<sup>59</sup> Images of immortals playing *liubo* may also be linked to the cult of Xiwangmu; members of a mass movement in 3 BCE are said to have "... held services and set up gaming boards ... they sang and danced in worship of Xiwangmu."<sup>60</sup> Yang Lien-sheng has also suggested that in pre-Han and Han times, a number of ambitious mortals sought to defeat deities at *liubo* in order to obtain magical powers.<sup>61</sup> Although the exact ritual or magical implications of this game are unclear, it appears to have had some connection with the immortality cult and ascension to paradise.

### *The Court of Xiwangmu*

The only time immortals are not depicted as incessantly mobile creatures is when they are shown at the court of Xiwangmu (figs. 1 and 6). During the Han dynasty, Xiwangmu was a cult figure who was believed to preside over the Western Paradise and direct the production of the elixir of immortality. Based on the model of an earthly imperial court, Eastern Han representations of Xiwangmu's realm bear witness to the growing bureaucratization and secularization of the immortal world. In these reliefs, immortals are usually depicted as supplicants and members of the divine court of Xiwangmu and sometimes welcome the deceased to paradise.<sup>62</sup>

### *Images of Immortals and Animals*

These three motifs—the fungus, *liubo*, and Xiwangmu—suggest several functions or habits of immortals. Although all three motifs relate to immortality and the development of the immortality cult, the primary function and significance of immortals in the tomb can be found in reliefs in which they are depicted with animals. I have already argued that scenes of immortals frolicking with birds and beasts on treelike mountains or in stylized cloudscape symbolize the pacification of the dangerous borderlands between heaven and earth. Here, I will focus on reliefs in which animals serve as a vehicle for immortals or pull chariots in which immortals ride as the charioteers (figs. 16 and 17),<sup>63</sup> including deer, dragons, tigers, cranes and other birds, turtles, fish, and *tianma* 天馬 (heavenly horses).

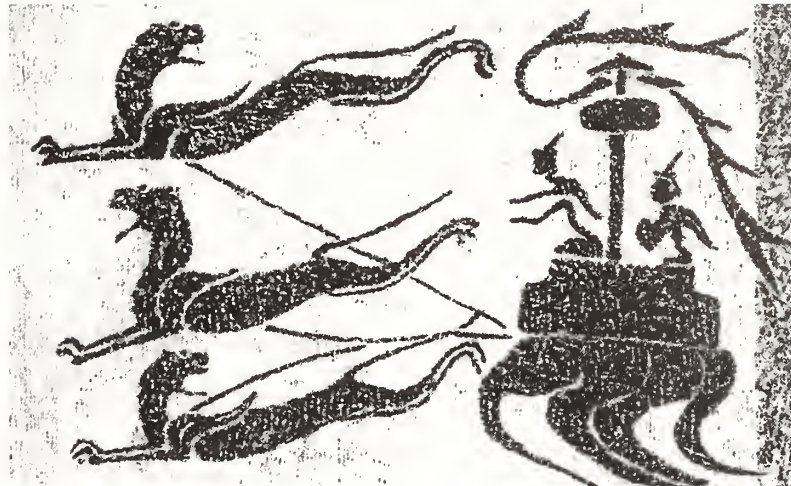




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Immortal riding a tiger. Yongcheng, Henan, Eastern Han dynasty. After *Zhongguo huaxiang shi quanji*, vol. 6 (Jinan: Shandong meishu chubanshe, 2000), figs. 64–67.



17

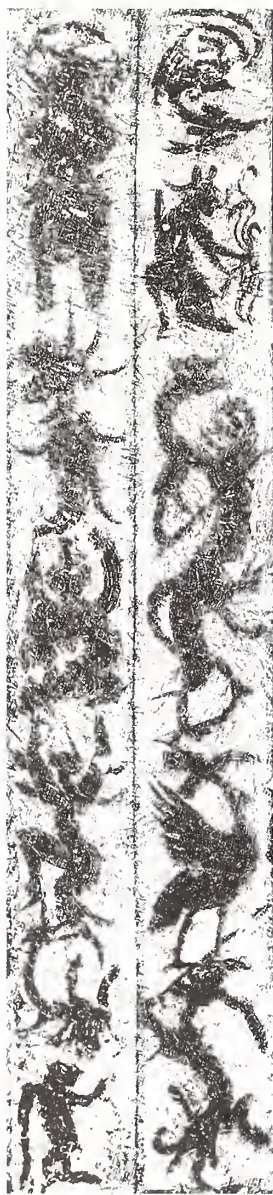
17

Chariot procession. Nanyang, Henan. After *Nanyang Han huaxiang shi jingcui* (Zhengzhou: Henan meishu chubanshe, 2005), vol. 2, p. 59.

Based on these scenes and textual corollaries, I will argue that immortals were placed in tombs because they were believed to act as shaman-like intermediaries between heaven and earth. This combined with their related role as the purveyors of the elixir of immortality was the reason for their popularity during the Eastern Han dynasty.

Reliefs that depict animals as mounts or pulling chariots form a complimentary set of images in which animals are used as spirit vehicles that transport immortals in their roles as shamanistic mediators between heaven and earth. Shamans and shamanism are concepts that have given way to a variety of inclusive and exclusive interpretations, but shamans usually serve communities as intermediaries between the sacred and profane worlds to control the unknown and bring a balance to society as a whole.<sup>64</sup> They communicate with spirits on multiple levels, including the worlds above and below and that of man, and are often aided by spirit helpers in the form of animals, whose species vary in different geographic regions.<sup>65</sup> According to Siberian shamans, their journeys to various spiritual realms may be used to recover the lost soul of an individual, exorcise spirits that are causing sickness, escort the soul of the dead, and conduct various other spiritual consultations when problems face the community.<sup>66</sup> The amount of power that a shaman possesses during séances in which he or she is possessed by or in control of a spirit is a point of debate, but it appears that the degree of control and the exact relationship between the shaman and spirits varies among cultures.<sup>67</sup> The exact role of spirit helpers also depends on context; some journey with the shaman to other spiritual planes while others may be sent as envoys to contact or search for spirits in different worlds.<sup>68</sup>

Although Eastern Han immortals did not perform all the functions of shamans, in reliefs they are depicted as mediators between heaven and earth who guide the souls of the dead through the dark spiritual realms of the afterlife. In many reliefs they perform this task with the help of the above-listed animals, exorcising malignant forces and transforming the realm between heaven and earth similar to the ways shamans used their spirit-animals to aid journeys through spiritual planes. The utilization of animals as vehicles or spirit mounts is also suggested in an inscription on a mirror from the Han dynasty:



18

Immortal ascending/descending with various creatures, detail of a pillar from Yinan, Shandong, Eastern Han dynasty. From *Zhongguo huaxiang shi quanji*, vol. 1 (Jinan: Shandong meishu chubanshe, 2000), fig. 221.

If you climb Mount T'ai, you may see immortal beings. They feed on the purest jade, they drink from the springs of manna. They yoke the scaly dragons to their carriage, they mount the floating clouds. The white tiger leads them ... they ascend straight to heaven.<sup>69</sup>

The pictorial arrangement of many scenes in which immortals are represented with animals further supports the argument that they were thought of as shamanistic mediators, as they are shown on pillars or walls horizontally ascending or descending or on door lintels or on the boundaries of ceilings traveling across cloudscares (figs. 3, 6, 11, 12, 13, and 18). In addition, immortals possessed this power because they had ingested the elixir of immortality, similar to the hallucinatory drugs used by shamans in some cultures to achieve union with the spirits and travel through various realms.

Several visual and textual precedents link depictions of immortals on Eastern Han tomb reliefs to the *wu* 巫 (often translated as shaman) tradition of ancient China.<sup>70</sup> A number of passages from textual accounts that relate to shamans and shamanistic traditions in ancient China can be connected to images of immortals on Eastern Han tomb reliefs. These passages refer to snakes and snake-handling, shamans that ascend and descend the axis-mundi, the use of birds in shamanistic practices, and the role of shamans and medicine in ancient China.

The motif of snake-handling is found on Warring States lacquers (fig. 19) and in *Shanhaijing*:

Shaman Xian is north of Women Chou [*nü chou*, "second woman"] Mountain. In his right hand he grasps a blue-green snake, in his left hand he grasps a vermillion snake. He dwells on Dengbao Mountain, where the assembled shamans ascend and descend.<sup>71</sup>

Snake handling was a common feature among north Asian shamans who were believed to be invulnerable to snakes while they were possessed by a deity.<sup>72</sup> This imagery probably served as a precursor for the immortal figure from Shanxi that is shown grasping two snakes (fig. 8) and may be another reason why some immortals are depicted as serpentine hybrids. The concept of approaching or ascending mountains in tomb reliefs may also draw on the idea of the ascension of shamans via an axis-mundi that is referred to in the above passage.

The imagery of winged immortals may be related to figures of costumed dancers with feathers and winged tails who served as ritual specialists in festival dance performances, a common shamanistic practice in many cultures.<sup>73</sup> Birds also play a central role to shamans as spirit helpers in many cultures. Furthermore, in ancient





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19  
Detail of a lacquer zither showing  
a shaman grasping two snakes.  
Changtaiguan Tomb No. 1, Xinyang,  
Henan, Warring States period. After  
Teng Rensheng, *Chu qiqi yanjiu*  
(Xianggang: Liang mu chubanshe;  
Taiwan jingxiao Yi yuan shufang,  
1991), fig. 73.

Chinese texts, the *fangshi*, some of whose practices were descended from the *wu* tradition, were known to analyze bird calls, bird movements, and bird anomalies in order to tell the future.<sup>74</sup>

As Joseph Needham points out, in the *Shanhaijing*, the *wu* are connected with immortals and the immortality cult due to their association with the elixir of immortality and drugs in general. This includes one passage in which six *wu* carry the elixir in their hands and guard the corpse of Zhayu near Mount Kunlun. In another section, ten *wu* ascend and descend a sacred mountain gathering elixirs.<sup>75</sup> Images of immortals grasping the fungus of immortality or approaching Xiwan-gmu's throne with long stalks in their hands may be connected to the practices of male shamans in ancient China; as Chow Tse-tsung notes, the shamans invoked deities by holding young branches of plants or ears of grain.<sup>76</sup>

These visual and textual corollaries suggest a close connection between immortals and the *wu* tradition during the Warring States period and the Han dynasty. Links between shamans and descriptions of immortals also continued after the Eastern Han. In later Daoist texts and imagery, the powers of immortals are often similar to the powers of shamans, including their ability to heal the sick, exorcise demons or beasts, control the weather, tell the future, prevent disasters, use wild animals as helpers, and remain unharmed by the elements. One interesting difference between post-Han immortals and shamans is that the immortals usually used their powers as a demonstration of their might rather than for the benefit of mankind.<sup>77</sup> This does not appear to be the case in depictions of immortals in Eastern Han tombs, which were thought to aid individuals, if not the society at large. This change in the conception of immortals from selfless beings that facilitated the ascension of the living and the dead to self-centered individuals may have had its beginnings in the secularization of the immortal realm during the Eastern Han dynasty. Such a change, combined with modifications of the immortals' physical characteristics, suggests that although Daoist immortals are based on Han dynasty texts and images, ideas relating to them as well as the process of becoming one had evolved by the time the first immortal hagiography was compiled in the third century CE.<sup>78</sup> By that time, the winged creatures that guided the soul of the deceased during the Eastern Han dynasty had been forgotten and were left to haunt the tombs they decorated, replaced by a growing pantheon of Daoist figures and associated beliefs.



### **Metamorphosis, Postmortem Immortality, and the Afterlife in Han China**

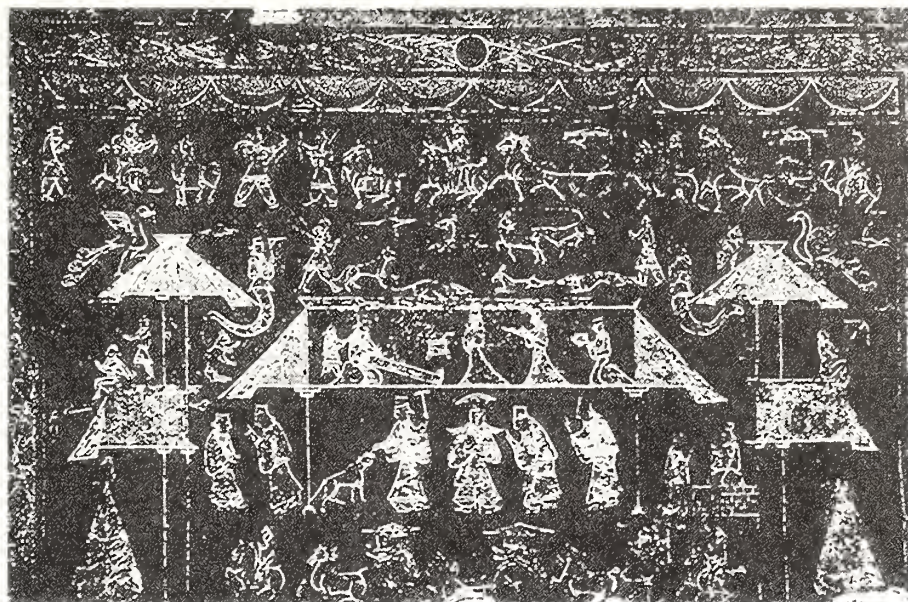
In Eastern Han tomb reliefs, images of immortals stress their ability to transcend the mortal world by depicting hybrid figures acting as shaman-like mediators between heaven and earth. Although it is clear that some sort of bodily transformation was necessary to become an immortal, exactly how this occurred after death is unclear. From textual and visual sources it appears three coexistent views of immortality were prevalent in Eastern Han China: 1) longevity in the present world, 2) the possibility of escaping death all together, and 3) achieving immortality after one died. Such a threefold division, however, cannot be seen on tomb reliefs. These kinds of immortality could be achieved by a number of methods, and as Livia Kohn has pointed out:

During the Han dynasty philosophy, longevity concerns, and shamanism were joined into one complex, also incorporating cosmological, astrological, and medical theories. At this time, transcendence was primarily understood as a mechanical process: one received the divine materials from the immortals already residing in paradise, then transformed them for human use in ritual procedure, applied them to oneself and thus could become immortal.<sup>79</sup>

One Han dynasty ballad tells of an acolyte receiving the fungus of immortality and reverting to a youthful appearance but never mentions the hybrid winged or serpentine creatures that decorate tomb reliefs:

The fairy riding a white deer,  
Has short hair and ears so long,  
As he leads me up Great Mount Hua,  
He grasps the mushroom, seizes red-fringe fungus.  
When we reach the Master's gates,  
He offers up the drug in a jade casket.  
The Master eats the drug,  
His body in a day grows strong and fit,  
His white hair turns black again,  
His lifespan lengthens, his years are increased.<sup>80</sup>

It is also important to note that this passage is speaking of longevity, not the hope that some part of the soul would survive and ascend to heaven. Such concepts, however, grew increasingly blurred during the Han dynasty.<sup>81</sup> This study has sug-



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Image of the deceased depicted with wings from Feicheng, Shandong, 83 CE. After Wang Sili, "Shandong Feicheng Han huaxiang shi mu diaocha," *Wenwu*, no. 4 (1958), p. 36.

gested that images of immortals were placed in the tomb to facilitate similar processes after death.

Based on texts and images, however, it is unclear whether the deceased returned to a youthful state or became an empowered hybrid humanoid like those represented in tomb reliefs. The possibility of actually being transformed into a bird-like figure may be suggested by an image from Feicheng 肥城, Shandong, where it appears that a pair of wings were added to the central standing figure, who probably represents the deceased (fig. 20).<sup>82</sup> It may have been that both ideas coexisted and were not mutually exclusive or the process may have been different depending on the individual. During the Han dynasty, the contradiction inherent in burial and the belief in the possibility of immortality after death was explained by stories that told of individuals who seemed to die a regular death, were buried like everyone else, and then ascended to immortality. In 110 BCE, Han Wudi was surprised to discover that there was a tomb for Huangdi, who was believed to have ascended to heaven. His advisors explained that the tomb housed only Huangdi's hat and robe.<sup>83</sup> Wang Chong in the *Lunheng* also discussed the belief in contrived death, calling it "deliverance from the corpse" (*shi jie* 屍解),<sup>84</sup> a concept that would become central to later religious Daoism.<sup>85</sup>

For a time, the cult of immortality and the hybrid figures in Eastern Han tombs held the keys to eternal bliss. The idea of immortals and an immortal paradise offered an alternative conception of the afterlife that coexisted with the belief in a bleak underworld whose bureaucracy mimicked that of the living and the view that the deceased would become an ancestor who needed to be annually pacified and cared for through sacrifices.<sup>86</sup> It is not clear how such ideas were synthesized in Han dynasty China, if at all, but individuals who became immortals could escape the desolate underworld and may also have been believed to become ancestors. The benefit was twofold, providing a pleasant afterlife while also promising prosperity to the living, as a happy ancestor was believed to be a helpful ancestor.<sup>87</sup> Despite such initial incongruities, it seems that in all three conceptions of the afterlife one of the most important things was that the dead be separated from the living. Hybrid

immortals were chosen to decorate Eastern Han dynasty tombs because they were believed to facilitate this dangerous process while giving individuals a happy alternative to the bleak afterlife in the bureaucratic underworld.

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## NOTES

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- 1 Although Western Han depictions of immortals exhibit many of the characteristics outlined in this paper, between the time when immortals first appear in the second century BCE and the creation of Eastern Han tomb reliefs, those characteristics were expanded and standardized. In addition to the figures from Mawangdui noted in this paper, see also the thin, hairy immortal with large ears depicted on a Western Han tomb mural unearthed in Xi'an in 2004. Xi'an shi wenwu kaogu baohu kaogu suo, "Xi'an ligong daxue Xihan bihua mu fajue baogao," *Wenwu*, no. 5 (2006), pp. 7–44. Although the mural is damaged, a similar figure also appears on a Western Han tomb mural discovered at Xi'an Jiaotong University. Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiuyuan, *Bi shang danqing: Shaanxi chutu bihua ji*, vol. 1 (Beijing: Ke xue chu ban she, 2008), p. 7. Immortals also appear amid the swirling cloudlike patterns found on Western Han lacquerware and on other materials. For lacquerware, see Martin J. Powers, "A Late Western Han Tomb Near Yangzhou and Related Problems," *Oriental Art* 29, no. 3 (autumn 1983), pp. 275–90; for mirrors, see Michael Loewe, *Ways to Paradise, the Chinese Quest for Immortality* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1979), and Zhang Jinyi, *Han jing suo fanying de shenhua chuanshuo yu shenxian sixiang* (Mythology and Immortal Thought as Reflected on Han Dynasty Mirrors) (Taipei: Guoli Gugong bowuyuan, Minguo 70, 1981).
- 2 Gong Yunbiao, "Yuren (Feathered Men)," *Dongfang yishu*, no. 2 (2007), pp. 27–31; Huang Wanfeng, "Yuren yu Chu wenhu" (Feathered Men and Chu Culture), *Nandu xuetan* 13, no. 1 (1993), pp. 1–4; Kitamura Haruka, "Ujinzō o chūshintosuru Kandai shinsen sekaizu kō" (Portraits of Feathered Men: Images of the World of the Gods and Immortals from the Han Dynasty), *Bigaku* 44, no. 2 (1993), pp. 57–68; Liang Yingmei, "Handai yuren xingxiang luntan" (An Examination of Han Dynasty Images of Feathered Men), *Sichuan daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban)*, no. S1 (2004), pp. 13–15; Michael Loewe, "Man and Beast: The Hybrid in Early Chinese Art and Literature," *Numen* 25, no. 2 (August 1978), pp. 111–12, and *Ways to Paradise*, pp. 59 and 107; Sun Yan, "Han Wei Nanbei chao yuren tuxiang kao" (Research of Feathered Men from the Han, Wei, and Northern and Southern Dynasties), *Nanfang wenwu*, no. 1 (2006), pp. 69–74; Sun Zuoyun, "Shuo yuren—yuren tu yuren shenhua ji shengxian sixiang zhi tuteng zhuyi de te cha" (Speaking of Feathered Men—An Examination of the Totemistic Significance of the Images and Mythology of Feathered Men and Ascension to Immortality), *Shenyang bowuguan choubi weiyuanhui huikan*, vol. 1 (1947), pp. 29–75; Wei Feixue, "Handai yuren de fen lei" (The Classification of Han Dynasty Feathered Men), *Wenshi zazhi*, no. 4 (1996), pp. 63–64; Yang Xiaohong, "Handai yuhua tuxiang de fazhan ji qi yuanyin" (Discussing the Reason About the Image Ascending to Heaven and Becoming an Immortal Development in Han Dynasty), *Nandu xuetan*, no. 2 (2004), pp. 11–15; Yang Xiaohong, "Sairen yu Handai yuhua tuxiang" (Scythians and Han Dynasty Images of Becoming Immortal), *Wenshi zazhi*, no. 1 (2005), pp. 61–63; Zhou Guangming and Li Ronghua, "Yuhua shengxian—Xin'an

- Shangdai damu yu yuren shiyi" (To Grow Feathers and Become an Immortal—An Explanation of the Jade Feathered Man from a Large Shang Dynasty Tomb at Xin'gan), *Nanfang wenwu*, no. 3 (2001), pp. 39–45.
- 3 For several examples of studies along these lines, see Hayashi Minao, *Kandai no Kamigami* (Gods of the Han Dynasty) (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1989); Ni Runan, "Qin Han zhi xianren sixiang de zhenghe yu dingwei" (On the Conformity and Orientation of the Immortal Idea in the Qin and Han Dynasties), *Zhongyuan wenwu*, no. 6 (2003), pp. 49–63; Florence Waterbury, *Bird-deities in China* (Ascona, Switzerland: Artibus Asiae, 1952), pp. 110–36; Xin Lixiang, *Handai huaxiang shi zonghe yanjiu* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2000), pp. 143–61; Yang Xiaohong, "Handai yuhua sheng tian jiben tuxiang moshi lungao" (A Sketch of the Foundation of Images of Ascending to Immortality from Han Dynasty Tombs), *Dongnan wenhua*, no. 6 (1992), pp. 110–22; Yang Xiaohong, "Handai yuhua yitai ji jiben zang tuxiang gouzao" (The Han Dynasty Motivation to be Transformed into an Immortal and the Structure of Images Buried in Tombs), *Sichuan wenwu*, no. 4 (1995), pp. 23–29; Zhang Jinyi, *Han jing suo fanying de shienhua chuanshuo yu shenxian sixiang*; Zhou Baoping, "Han hua zhong de sheng xian tuxiang" (Images of Ascending to Immortality in Han Pictures), *Liaohai wenwu xuekan*, no. 2 (1993), pp. 76–84.
  - 4 Jean M. James, *A Guide to the Shrine and Tomb Art of the Han Dynasty 206 BC–AD 220* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellon Press, 1996), pp. 18, 21–22, 32, 69–75; Loewe, *Ways to Paradise*, pp. 15–16, 83; Martin Powers, *Art and Political Expression in Early China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), pp. 44–45, 62–63, 117–22, 265–68, 272–77, 287–88, 353–54; "A Late Western Han Tomb Near Yangzhou," p. 287; *Pattern and Person: Ornament, Society and Self* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp. 233–41; and "Zaoqi Zhongguo yishu zhong de jingling yu zaiti" (Spirits and Motion in Early Chinese Art), in *Gui mei shen mo: Zhongguo tong su wen hua ce xie*, ed. Pu Muzhou (Taipei: Mai tian chu ban, 2005), pp. 90–99; Shih Hsio-Yen, "Early Chinese Pictorial Style: From the Later Han to the Six Dynasties" (PhD diss., Bryn Mawr, 1961), pp. 181–82, 216–19, and "Han Stone Reliefs from Shensi Province," *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America*, vol. 14 (1960), pp. 49–64. For a discussion of the immortal imagery from Mawangdui, see Wu Hung, "Art in a Ritual Context: Rethinking Mawangdui," *Early China* 17 (1992), pp. 111–44.
  - 5 David Hawkes, *Ch'u tz'ü: The Songs of the South, an Ancient Chinese Anthology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), pp. 8–9, and *The Songs of the South: An Anthology of Ancient Chinese Poems by Qu Yuan and Other Poets* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England; New York: Penguin Classics), pp. 42–51 and 191–203; Livia Kohn, "Eternal Life in Taoist Mysticism," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 110, no. 4 (October–December 1990), p. 624; Michael Loewe, *Chinese Ideas of Life and Death: Faith, Myth and Reason in the Han Period (202 BC–AD 220)* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1982), pp. 104–13; Kiyohiko Munakata, *Sacred Mountains in Chinese Art: An Exhibition Organized by the Kannert Art Museum, November 9–December 16, 1990, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, January 25–March 31, 1991* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1991), p. 11; and Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), pp. 132–39. Michael J. Puett has argued against associating ascension literature with shamanism and outlines the differences between this literature and the later *fangshi* who promised the First Emperor and Han Wudi immortality. Michael Puett, *To Become a God: Cosmology, Sacrifice, and Self-divinization in Early China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center for the Harvard-Yenching Institute; Harvard University Press, 2002), pp. 202–4 and 239–43.
  - 6 For studies of hybrid figures, see Michael Loewe, "Man and Beast," and Martin J. Powers, "Hybrid Omens and Public Issues in Early Imperial China," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 55 (1983), pp. 1–50, and *Art and Political Expression*, pp. 224–78. For a list of iconographic studies of immortals as *yuren*, see n. 2.
  - 7 Loewe, "Man and Beast," pp. 111–12, and *Ways to Paradise*, pp. 59 and 107.
  - 8 In other versions, he flies to heaven on a white crane. Roel Sterckx, *The Animal and the Daemon in Early China* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2000), p. 185. For his appearance on mirrors and accompanying inscriptions, see Zhang Jinyi, *Han jing*, pp. 72–74.
  - 9 N. J. Girardot, "Hsien," in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Mircea Eliade (New York: Macmillan Publishers, 1987), vol. 6, p. 476. See Sun Zuoyun, "Shuo yuren," for a discussion of the possible totemistic and animistic origins of the representations of immortals as man-bird hybrids.
  - 10 Poo Mu-chou, *In Search of Personal Welfare: A View of Ancient Chinese Religion* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1998), p. 261, n. 28. Yang Xiaohong also notes Egyptian burial beliefs and practices in Yang Xiaohong,

“Handai yuhua yitai ji jiben zang tuxiang gouzao,” p. 26.

- 11 A Feather-People Land (*yumin guo* 羽民國) and the Undying People appear in *Shanhaijing* 6 (“Haiwai nanjing”) while the Land of Feathered People (*yumin zhi guo* 羽民之國) and an Undying Land (*busi zhi guo* 不死之國) are mentioned in *Shanhaijing* 15 (“Da huang nanjing”). Guo Fu, *Shanhaijing zhuzheng* (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2004), 6.1.6 (572–74), 6.1.16 (585–87), 8.2.5 (798–99), and 8.2.8 (801–2). For an analysis of textual references to feathered men and immortals see Sun Zuoyun, “Shuo yuren,” and Max Kaltenmark, *Le Lie-Sien Tchouan* (Paris: Université de Paris; Publications du Centre d’Études Sinologiques de Pékin, 1953).
- 12 For a discussion of the imagery from Mawangdui, see Loewe, *Ways to Paradise*, pp. 17–59, and Wu Hung, “Art in a Ritual Context.” For a description and discussion of other figures on a Western Han mural and coffin, see Jean M. James, *A Guide to the Shrine and Tomb Art of the Han Dynasty*, pp. 9–33. James, however, argues that these figures are not immortals.
- 13 Powers, *Art and Political Expression*, p. 325.
- 14 Sima Qian, *Shiji* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959 [1973 printing]), vol. 28, p. 1391. For translation, see Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty II*, trans. Burton Watson (Hong Kong and New York: The Research Centre for Translation and the Chinese University of Hong Kong and Columbia University Press, 1993), p. 33.
- 15 Hawkes, *Ch’u tz’u*, p. 81.
- 16 Ma Maoyuan, et al., *Chu ci zhushi* (Taipei: Wenjin chubanshe, Minguo 82, 1993), pp. 441–42. For translation, see Hawkes, *Ch’u tz’u*, p. 83.
- 17 Wang Chong, *Lunheng* 7 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1974), p. 24. For translation, see Alfred Forke, trans., *Lun-Heng. Miscellaneous Essays of Wang Ch’ung*, 2nd ed. (New York: Paragon Book Gallery, 1962), part 1, pp. 330–31. As Patricia Berger has observed, despite Wang Chong’s claims, Xiwangmu was also sometimes represented as a winged being, and in several scenes from the Wu Family Shrines all of the figures are depicted as sprouting plumage. Patricia Berger, “Rites and Festivities in the Art of Eastern Han China: Shantung and Kiangsu Provinces” (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1980), pp. 159–60.
- 18 These passages are found in *Lushi chunqiu* 14, no. 8 (“Bi yi”) and *Huainanzi*, vol. 2 (“Chu zhen”). Liu Wendian, *Huainan honglie jijie* (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yin shuguan, minguo 57 [1968]) 1.2:36, and Chen Qiyu, *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), vol. 1, p. 835. For translation, see John Knoblock and Jeffrey Riegel, *The Annals of Lü Buwei* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), pp. 331–32. A similar description occurs in *Guanzi* 4, chapter 12 (“Shu yan”). Li Xiangfeng, *Guanzi jiaozhu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2004), vol. 1, p. 245. For translation, see W. Allyn Rickett, *Guanzi: Political, Economic, and Philosophical Essays from Early China, a Study and Translation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), vol. 1, p. 218. Cited in Sterckx, *Animal and Daemon*, pp. 177–78.
- 19 Mark Edward Lewis, *The Flood Myths of Ancient China* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2006), p. 121.
- 20 See Wang Chong, *Lunheng* 7, pp. 105–6 for a criticism of the myths surrounding the ascension of the Yellow Emperor. For translation, see Alfred Forke, *Lun-Heng*, part 1, pp. 332–35.
- 21 Bernard Kalgren, “Legends and Cults in Ancient China,” *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 18 (1946), p. 281.
- 22 Michael Loewe, “Man and Beast,” pp. 111–12, and *Ways to Paradise*, p. 59. Jean M. James interprets this figure as a star god; James, *Guide to Shrine and Tomb Art*, pp. 15–16. The meaning of the serpentine tail that is also an attribute of Fu Xi and Nüwa and the apotropaic nature of reliefs depicting intertwining dragons and serpents are discussed in Martin J. Powers, “An Archaic Bas-Relief and the Chinese Moral Cosmos in the First Century A.D.,” *Ars Orientalis* 12 (1981), pp. 27–28, and *Art and Political Expression*, pp. 113–14, 254, 271–72.
- 23 John S. Major, “Characteristics of Late Chu Religion,” in *Defining Chu: Image and Reality in Ancient China*, ed. Constance A. Cook and John S. Major (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), p. 131.
- 24 Lewis, *Flood Myths*, p. 71.
- 25 See Poo Mu-chou for an in-depth study of the conception of foreigners in ancient China. Poo Mu-chou, *Enemies of Civilization: Attitudes toward Foreigners in Ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt, and China* (Albany, NY: The State University of New York Press, 2005).
- 26 “Huangdi pian,” Yan Jie and Yan Beiming, *Liezi yizhu* (Xianggang Jiulong: Zhonghua shuju Xianggang fen ju, 1987), p. 29. For translation, see A. C. Graham, trans., *The Book of Lieh-tzu* (London: John Murray, 1960), p. 35. A similar description of a “divine man” can also be found in *Zhuangzi neipian* 1 (“Xiao yao you”). *Zhuangzi jishi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, Xinhua shudian Beijing faxing suo faxing, 1961 [1978 printing]), p. 28. For translation, see Burton Watson, trans.,



- The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), p. 33.
- 27 The representation and motivation for depicting immortals as asexual creatures is similar to the gender ambiguity associated with shamans in many cultures. See Sandra E. Hollimon, "The Gendered Peopling of North America: Addressing the Antiquity of Systems of Multiple Genders," in *The Archaeology of Shamanism*, ed. Neil S. Price (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), pp. 123–34.
- 28 It is unclear if or how the androgynous depiction of immortals in Eastern Han dynasty tomb reliefs relates to the tradition of sexual techniques for achieving immortality. The earliest texts that describe sexual practices intended to lengthen life have been excavated from Warring States Period sites in Yan and Qi associated with the *fangshi*. Isabelle Robinet, *Taoism: Growth of a Religion*, trans. Phyllis Brooks (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), p. 38.
- 29 Zheng Yan, "Barbarian Images in Han Art," *Orientalism* 29, no. 6 (June 1998), pp. 50–59.
- 30 Anne Birell, *Popular Songs and Ballads of Han China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), pp. 69, 189, n. 26.
- 31 Hayashi Minao, "Inshūjidai no ibutsu ni arawasareta kishin (Spirits and Deities as Represented on Artifacts from the Shang and Zhou Dynasties)," *Kōkogaku zasshi* 46, no. 2 (1960), pp. 105–32. Hayashi has also suggested that losing one's hair was equated with losing one's life or vitality; hence immortals were depicted with long, flowing hair. Hayashi Minao, *Ishi ni kizamareta sekai: gazoseki ga kataru kodai Chugoku no seikatsu to shiso* (The World Imprinted on Stones: Ancient Chinese Life and Beliefs Depicted on Stones) (Tokyo: Toho Shoten, 1992), pp. 174–76.
- 32 Zheng Yan, "Barbarian Images," pp. 53–54.
- 33 Carrie E. Reed, "Tattoo in Early China," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 120 (July–September 2000), pp. 361–64.
- 34 Sun Zuoyun, "Shuo yuren," has argued that immortals as feathered men were based on earlier totemistic beliefs.
- 35 Powers, *Art and Political Expression*, pp. 44–45, 62–63, 185, 265–68, and 277–78; Powers, pp. 354–55, also discusses a figure, probably an immortal from the Zhu Wei 朱雋 Shrine, that hovers wingless in midair but appears in the guise of a normal mortal. The change in the appearance of immortals after the Han dynasty has also been noted by Kiyohito Munakata, *Sacred Mountains*, p. 33; Gong Yunbiao, "Yuren"; Sun Yan, "Han Wei Nanbei chao yuren"; and Sun Zuoyun, "Shuo yuren," p. 39.
- 36 For a discussion of the power of metamorphosis (*bian hua* 變化) in later Daoism, see Isabelle Robinet, "Metamorphosis and Deliverance from the Corpse in Taoism," *History of Religions* 19, no. 1 (August 1979), pp. 37–70.
- 37 Poo, *Enemies of Civilization*; see in particular chapters 3 and 4.
- 38 Marc Samuel Abramson, "Deep Eyes and High Noses: Physiognomy and the Depiction of Barbarians in Tang China," in *Political Frontiers, Ethnic Boundaries, and Human Geographies in Chinese History*, ed. Nicola Di Cosmo and Don J. Wyatt (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), p. 146.
- 39 Zheng Yan, "Barbarian Images." In general it appears to have been auspicious to include foreign objects, materials, and motifs of all kinds in tombs. See Jessica Rawson, "The Eternal Palaces of the Western Han: A New View of the Universe," *Artibus Asiae* 59, nos. 1/2 (1999), pp. 5–58.
- 40 See Hayashi Minao "Kandai kishin no sekkai" (Mythological Scenes in Han Tomb Reliefs), *Tōhō Gakuhō* 46 (March 1974), pp. 223–306, for a discussion of some of the changes that occurred in the late Han spirit world.
- 41 See Hayashi Minao, "Chūgoku kodai no ibutsu ni omotte wasareta ki no tozo teki hyoken (Ancient Chinese Figural Representation of 'Qi')," *Tōhō Gakuhō* 61 (March 1989), pp. 1–93; Munakata, *Sacred Mountains*, pp. 20–29, and Michael Sullivan, *The Birth of Landscape Painting in China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), pp. 47–59, for the development of this imagery.
- 42 Huashan and Taishan figure in some mirror inscriptions as well as in Han dynasty ballads. For mirror inscriptions, see Bernard Kalgren, "Early Chinese Mirror Inscriptions," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 6 (1934), and Zhang Jinyi, *Han jing*, pp. 70–72. For ballads, see Birrell, *Songs and Ballads*.
- 43 "Tang Wen Pian," *Liezi yizhu*, pp. 115–16. For translation, see Graham, *Lieh-tzu*, p. 97.
- 44 Liu Wendian, *Huainanzi* 4 ("Zhuixing"), 2.4: 5–6. For translation, see John S. Major, *Heaven and Earth in Early Han Thought: Chapters Three, Four, and Five of the "Huainanzi"* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), p. 158. Detailed descriptions and textual analyses of references to Kunlun in the *Huainanzi* and other texts are also included in Major, pp. 150–61.
- 45 For an in depth look at visual and textual references to Mount Kunlun, see Sofukawa Hiroshi, *Konronzan e no shōsen: kodai Chūgokujin ga egaita shigo no sekai* (Ascent to Mount Kunlun: The World after Death Depicted by the Ancient Chinese) (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1981).
- 46 Terry F. Kleeman, "Mountain Deities in China: The Domestication of the

- Mountain God and the Subjugation of the Margins,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 114, no. 2 (April–June 1994), pp. 230, 237. Also see Munakata, *Sacred Mountains*, p. 5, for a discussion of attitudes toward mountains in ancient China, which he describes as a “fear-reverence complex.”
- 47 *Baopuzi* 17 (“Deng she”). Wang Ming, *Baopuzi neipian jiaoshi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, Xinhua shudian, Beijing faxing suo faxing, 1985 [2002 printing]), p. 299. For translation, see Kleeman, “Mountain Deities in China,” pp. 230–31.
- 48 Wu Hung, “Myths and Legends in Han Funerary Art: Their Pictorial Structure and Symbolic Meanings as Reflected in Carvings on Sichuan Sarcophagi,” in *Stories from China’s Past: Han Dynasty Pictorial Reliefs and Archaeological Objects from Sichuan Province, People’s Republic of China*, organized by Lucy Lim (San Francisco: The Chinese Culture Foundation of San Francisco, 1987), p. 75.
- 49 This inscription reads: “Ah, the enlightened does not follow, oh, the refined has died an early death, he has left the white sun and descended, his honorable name was cut short and not extended. His spirit floats among animals, roaming to the east and west. I am fearful his soul will be confused, I sing for him to return and be restored. Do not go about recklessly, still something poisonous may befall his spirit, and he may encounter misfortune ...” Zhang Li, “Shanbei Handai huaxiang shi yu Chu wenhua” (Han Dynasty Tomb Reliefs from Shanbei and Chu Culture), *Wenbo*, no. 3 (2005), pp. 62–63.
- 50 For an analysis and discussion of *boshan lu* censors, see Susan N. Erickson, “Boshanlu—Mountain Censors of the Western Han Period: A Typological and Critical Analysis,” *Archives of Asian Art* 45 (1992), pp. 6–28; Munakata, *Sacred Mountains*, pp. 28–33, and Jessica Rawson, “The Chinese Hill Censer, *boshan lu*: Influences and Meanings,” *Arts Asiatiques* 61 (2006), pp. 75–86.
- 51 In a similar vein, Munakata, *Sacred Mountains*, pp. 25–26, has suggested that several immortal figures depicted singing and dancing on objects dating to the Western Han dynasty may represent attempts to appease mountain gods. Powers has also discussed how the representations of the gathering of beasts that often include immortals in Eastern Han tomb reliefs are similar to descriptions of the paradisiacal “Plain of Riches” in the *Shanhaijing* and the social and natural harmony of an ideal Confucian world described in a poem by Cai Yong 蔡邕 (132–192 CE). Powers, *Art and Political Expression*, pp. 271–77.
- 52 For a discussion of the representation of *que* 闕 as gateways to the immortal world, see Jiang Sheng, “Han que kao” (The Imperial Palace and the Immortal Ideal: A Textual Study of the Imperial Palace–Que of the Han Dynasty), *Zhongshan daxue xuebao* (*shehui kexueban*), no. 1 (1997), pp. 60–65.
- 53 Loewe, *Ways to Paradise*, p. 198.
- 54 Powers, *Pattern and Person*, pp. 233–41, and “Zaoqi Zhongguo yishu zhong de jingling yu zaiti (Spirits and Motion in Early Chinese Art),” in *Gui mei shen mo: Zhongguo tong su wen hua ce xie*, ed. Pu Muzhou (Taipei: Mai tian chu ban, 2005), pp. 90–99; Eugene Y. Wang, “Why Pictures in Tombs? Mawangdui Once More,” *Orientations* 40, no. 2 (March 2009), pp. 82–83. As Powers notes, such pictorial conventions were purposely abandoned in the depictions of some immortals in the Shandong–Jiangsu region in favor of an analytical subdivision of the figure common in “classical” reliefs in this area. See *Art and Political Expression*, pp. 117–21.
- 55 Immortals also occur in two other scenes. In one scene, they perch atop roofs alongside phoenixes or other birds signifying the prosperity and good fortune of the household. Such scenes do not directly relate to the immortality of the soul after death or the immortality cult. Immortals also appear in a number of reliefs worshipping a stupa-like image. For the conflation of the Buddha and certain aspects of Buddhism with the immortality cult, see Wu Hung, “Buddhist Elements in Early Chinese Art (2nd and 3rd Centuries AD),” *Artibus Asiae* 47, nos. 3–4 (1986), pp. 263–352.
- 56 For more on the fungus of immortality, see Powers, *Art and Political Expression*, pp. 77–78, and “A Late Western Han Tomb Near Yangzhou and Related Problems,” pp. 287–88. Shih Hsio-yen, in “Han Stone Reliefs from Shensi,” also discusses the decoration of a “symbolic plant” that most likely refers to the *lingzhi* in reliefs from Shaanxi. In several scenes immortals and other figures approach Xiwangmu carrying long stalks or shish-kebab-looking objects. Such objects should not be confused with the fungus of immortality that immortals frequently carry in tomb reliefs. Instead, as Wu Hung has noted, these objects are identified by a passage in the *Han Shu* 漢書 (History of the Han Dynasty) that describes a mass religious movement surrounding the goddess in 3 BCE in which stalks of straw or hemp were used by worshippers. Wu Hung, “Xiwangmu, the Queen Mother of the West,” *Orientations* 18, no. 4 (April 1987), p. 29, and *The Wu Liang Shrine: The Ideology of Early Chinese Pictorial Art* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), pp. 128, 130.
- 57 See Zhang Congjun for a discussion of this process and how it may possibly

- relate to the popular motif of archer(s) shooting at bird(s) in a tree. Zhang Congjun, "Han huaxiang shi zhong de sheniao tuxiang yu sheng xian (Images of Shooting at Trees on Han Dynasty Tomb Reliefs and Ascending to Immortality)," *Minsu yanjiu*, no. 3 (2006), pp. 152–59.
- 58 From "Dong tao xing." Huang Jie, *Han Wei yuefu fengjian* (Xianggang: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1961), p. 19. For translation, see Birrell, *Songs and Ballads*, p. 70.
- 59 Lucy Lim, *Stories from China's Past*, p. 175.
- 60 Wu Hung, "Myths and Legends," p. 76.
- 61 Yang Lien-sheng, "An Additional Note on the Ancient Game Liu-po," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 15, nos. 1/2 (1952), pp. 138–39; Tseng Lan-ying, "Picturing Heaven: Image and Knowledge in Han China" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2001), pp. 57–58, and Lillian Lan-ying Tseng, "Representation and Appropriation: Rethinking the TLV mirror in Han China," *Early China* 29 (2004), pp. 186–91.
- 62 For a comprehensive study of images related to Xiwangmu, see Li Song, *Lun Handai yishu zhong de Xiwangmu tuxiang* (Han Dynasty Images of Xiwangmu) (Changsha: Hunan jiaoyu chubanshe, 2000). On changes in the conception of the spirit world in the Eastern Han, see Hayashi Minao, "Kandai kishin no sekkai." See also Powers, *Art and Political Expression*, pp. 265–68 and 277–78, for a discussion of imagery relating to Xiwangmu and immortals.
- 63 For a discussion of the representation of chariots in Eastern Han tomb reliefs and their relationship to the status of the deceased see Hayashi Minao, "Gokan jidai no shaba gyoretsu," *Tōhō Gakuhō* 37 (March 1966), pp. 183–226.
- 64 For a review of some of these definitions and approaches to the study of Shamanism, see Merete Demant Jakobsen, *Shamanism: Traditional and Contemporary Approaches to the Mastery of Spirits and Healing* (New York: Berghahn Books, 1999), pp. 1–8, and Peter Knecht, "Aspects of Shamanism: An Introduction," in *Shamans in Asia*, ed. Clark Chilson and Peter Knecht (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), pp. 2–11.
- 65 For a discussion that focuses on birds as spirit helpers in historical and contemporary Siberian Shamanism, see Marjorie Mandelstam Balzer, "Flights of the Sacred: Symbolism and Theory in Siberian Shamanism," *American Anthropologist*, n.s. 98, no. 2 (June 1996), pp. 305–18.
- 66 Marjorie Mandelstam Balzer, "Introduction," in *Shamanic Worlds: Rituals and Lore of Siberia and Central Asia*, ed. Marjorie Mandelstam Balzer (Armonk, NY, and London: North Castle Books, 1997), p. xviii.
- 67 Knecht, "Aspects of Shamanism," p. 3.
- 68 The role of spirit helpers is touched upon in Jakobsen, *Shamanism*; Peter Knecht, "Aspects of Shamanism"; and both works by Marjorie Mandelstam Balzer, "Introduction" and "Flights of the Sacred."
- 69 Loewe, *Ways to Paradise*, p. 200.
- 70 For a discussion of the functions of *wu* and terminology, see Chow Tse-tsung, "The Childbirth Myth and Ancient Chinese Medicine: A Study of Aspects of the Wu Tradition," in *Ancient China: Studies in Early Civilization*, ed. David Roy and Tseun-hsien Tsien (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1978), pp. 43–89; Hawkes, *The Songs of the South: An Anthology*, pp. 42–51, and Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. 2, pp. 134–39. For a large selection of translated texts regarding the *wu*, see J. M. M. de Groot, *The Religious System of China* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1892–1910), pp. 1187–211. For shamanism and late Chu religion, see Major, "Late Chu Religion," pp. 135–39. Michael Puett, in *To Become a God*, argues against the existence of shamanism in ancient Chinese religion, specifically refuting claims that religion was based primarily on shamanistic practices and the traditional reading of the *Chuci*'s spirit journeys as shamanistic. Based on visual evidence, I would have to disagree with Puett's general conclusions because representations of immortals as well as a number of figures that predate the Eastern Han dynasty strongly suggest the existence of a religious system that had shamanistic elements. Munakata has noted that, "the immortality ... cult started as an intellectual twist on shamanism, an ingenious transfiguration of the idea of the shaman's ecstatic cosmic trip into the image of the free-flying mountain man (*xianren*) and further, that of the "achieved man" (*zhenren*), who attained a cosmic vision and life freed from earthly bounds of space and time." Munakata, *Sacred Mountains*, p. 11. Suzanne Cahill has also observed that Xiwangmu, who in tomb reliefs is accompanied by immortals, in both the *Shanhajing* and *Chu ci* is described as a shamanistic deity further connecting the immortality cult to shamanistic traditions. Suzanne Cahill, *Transcendence and Divine Passion: The Queen Mother of the West in Medieval China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), p. 17.
- 71 *Shanhajing* 7 ("Haiwai xijing"). Guo Fu, *Shanhajing*, 6.2.13 (607–9). For translation, see Major, *Heaven and Earth*, p. 199.
- 72 Major, "Late Chu Religion," p. 130.
- 73 Balzer, "Flights of the Sacred."
- 74 Kenneth J. DeWoskin, *Doctors, Diviners and Magicians: Biographies of the*



*Fang-shih* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), pp. 16, 56–57, and “Music and Entertainment Themes in Han Funerary Sculpture,” *Orientalizations* 18, no. 4 (April 1987), p. 36.

75 Needham, *Science and Civilization*, vol. 2, pp. 135–36.

76 Chow, “Childbirth Myth and Ancient Chinese Medicine,” p. 68.

77 Kohn, *Taoist Experience*, p. 280.

78 For a different interpretation of the evolution of the significance of this imagery and the relation of *yuren* (feathered men) to the development of the concept of immortals, immortality, and legendary immortals, see Kitamura, “Ujinzō.”

79 Kohn, “Eternal Life,” p. 623.

80 “Chang ge xing, No. 2,” Huang Jie, *Han Wei yuefu*, p. 15. For translation, see Birrell, *Songs and Ballads*, p. 68.

81 For a discussion of different kinds of immortality in ancient China and the evolution of terminology and beliefs, see Yü Ying-shih, “Life and Immortality in the Mind of Han China,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 25 (1964–65), pp. 80–122.

82 Berger, “Rites and Festivities,” p. 160. James, *Guide to Shrine and Tomb Art*, p. 94, has identified this figure as King Cheng of Zhou 周成王 who is accompanied by his regent, the duke of Zhou 周公旦. Although he does share some similarities to other representations of King Cheng found in the Xiaotangshan 孝堂山 and Wu Family Shrines, this figure is equipped with a pair of wings. In Shandong, such wings are frequently given to Xiwangmu, Dongwanggong, and immortals, but to my knowledge never to King Cheng or other mortal beings.

83 Anna Seidel, “Afterlife: Chinese Concepts,” in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Mircea Eliade (New York: Macmillan

Publishing Company, 1987), vol. 1, p. 126; Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol. 28, p. 1396. For translation, see Sima Qian, *Records*, p. 40.

84 Wang Chong, *Lunheng* 7, p. 112. For translation, see Forke, *Lun-heng*, part 1, p. 345.

85 On the development of the idea of “deliverance from the corpse,” see Robinet, “Metamorphosis and Deliverance from the Corpse,” pp. 57–66.

86 Anna Seidel, “Post-Mortem Immortality or the Taoist Resurrection of the Body,” in *Gilgul: Essays on Transformation, Revolution and Impermanence in the History of Religions*, ed. S. Shaked, D. Shulman, and G. G. Stroumsa (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1987), p. 228. See also Poo, *In Search of Personal Welfare*, pp. 157–77 for a discussion of pre-Han and Han conceptions of the underworld and attitudes of the living toward the dead.

87 The possibility of the belief that the dead could become both immortals and ancestors is suggested in a mirror inscription that dates to the Early or Middle Eastern Han: “Blessing and advancements are daily before you./ You will eat jade flowers and drink from sweet springs./ As extravagant pleasures become laid out, you will encounter divine immortals./ You will nurture long life and cause your longevity to reach ten thousand years./ Reverting, you will return to the origin ...” The last line, which mentions “returning to the origin,” refers to ancestral worship. K. E. Brashier, “Longevity Like Metal and Stone: The Role of the Mirror in Han Burials,” *T'oung Pao* 81, nos. 4–5 (1995), pp. 224–25.

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## WOMEN, AUTHENTIC SENTIMENT, PRINT CULTURE AND THE THEME OF “INSCRIBING A POEM ON A RED LEAF” IN MING AND QING LITERATURE AND ART

### 1 (FACING)

Illustration from *Wutong Leaf*, act 2, Zang Maoxun ed., *One Hundred Yuan Plays*. After photolithographic reprint of Hanfen lou 涵芬樓 edition (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1918), box 5, vol. 34.

### Abstract

This essay<sup>1</sup> broadens recent scholarly discussions of the contributions of romantic drama to the valorization of women as repositories of authentic emotion in China during the late Ming, by focusing attention on a complex of literary and visual works with a common theme: a beautiful woman writes a poem on a leaf and casts it back into nature to be discovered by her future husband. The late Ming witnessed renewed interest in this Tang anecdote, not only as an allusion in poetry, fiction, and drama but also as the subject of plays and pictorial representation in woodblock prints and paintings. Visually, the story is recalled by the moment of production—a beautiful woman in a garden setting, her brush-wielding hand poised over a leaf, ink, and ink stone nearby. While this image evokes the romantic associations that a female writing poetry had come to emblemize, the woodblock prints, only some of which were illustrations for plays, also recall the boundaries breached by this act through the garden walls that surround the woman. The dialogue, songs, and stage business of the plays further developed this tension between the public nature of poetry production and social expectations that women should confine themselves to the domestic realm. By comparing the evolution of “inscribing a poem on a red leaf” as both a literary and visual theme, I will illuminate various ways that drama and the visual arts simultaneously shaped and participated in contemporary views on women’s capacity for authentic emotion as well as the romantic entanglements and the poetry that developed from this capacity. This discussion also suggests the utility of considering the overlaps and interactions between drama and the visual arts as we map the contours of the late Imperial imagination.

A BEAUTIFUL, BUT LONELY WOMAN inscribes a poem upon a leaf, describing her longing for love. She sends the leaf out into the world beyond her quarters where it is eventually discovered by a handsome young scholar who matches her capacity for sentiment. This story is one of a great many “scholar and beauty” (*caizi jiaren* 才子佳人) romances that were in circulation during the Ming and Qing periods of China—the most popular of all being the love story between the scholar Zhang and Yingying in the drama *Romance of the Western Wing* (*Xixiang Ji* 西廂記).<sup>2</sup> Like *Romance*, the story of inscribing a poem on a red leaf was retold and alluded to in a variety of literary forms and visual media. Indeed, the two stories intersect at a number of points in their evolution. Much has been written about *Romance* and the play’s prominence in Ming print culture, within the late Ming valorization of women and romance, and as a theme in visual art.<sup>3</sup> However, the overwhelming popularity of *Romance* has somewhat obscured the large number of



other story complexes that were also in circulation and participated in this confluence of trends shaping the late Imperial imagination.

In this study, I will trace the development of the theme of “inscribing a poem on a red leaf” (*hongye tishi* 紅葉題詩) in literature and art from its origins in Tang and Song classical anecdotes to its later reproductions in a variety of Ming and Qing anthologies. In the late Ming drama anthology, *One Hundred Yuan Plays* 元曲一百種 (published 1615–16), the theme is represented by the play *Wutong Leaf* 梧桐葉; it was also the subject of other plays, most notably *Record of the Drifting Red Leaf* 流紅記 (published 1583) by Wang Jide. Finally, the theme is represented in Ming and Qing print illustrations, paintings, and decorative art. An exploration of its evolution as a text- and an image-based theme illuminates the various ways that literature and the visual arts simultaneously participated in and shaped both the late Ming printing boom and a contemporary equation of the feminine with authentic sentiment; this exploration also reveals the commercial possibilities and cultural anxieties that these phenomena gave rise to.<sup>4</sup>

### The Origins of “Inscribing a Poem on a Red Leaf”: Accounts in Tang and Song Anthologies

Stories about inscribing a poem on a red leaf first appeared in several Tang and Song collections of anecdotes. The two that are most closely related to later dramatic versions of the story are “Hou Jitu” 侯繼圖 in the Tang anthology *Taiping Guangji* 太平廣記 (compiled 976–83) and “Record of the drifting red leaf” (Liu hong ji 流紅記) in the Song collection *Qingsuo Gaoyi* 青瑣高議 (attributed to Liu Fu 劉斧, active circa 1023–1100).<sup>5</sup> These two texts allow us to better appreciate Ming developments of the story, and thus merit special attention.

“Hou Jitu” begins with the erudite and diligent young scholar Hou Jitu leaning on a balustrade; suddenly a leaf floats by and drops in front of him. On this leaf the following lines are written:

Attempt to rub black eyebrows knit  
by pent up emotions within my heart.  
Taking up a pen, I ascend to the terrace in front of the hall;  
write them into words of longing.  
These words are not written on stone.  
These words are not written on paper.  
They are written onto an autumn leaf,  
hoping they will ascend with the autumn wind.  
Those in the world with a heart,  
will understand what it is to die from longing.<sup>6</sup>

Entranced by the verse, Hou carefully preserves the leaf with the poem. Five or six years after this incident, he marries a woman from the Ren family and happens to recite the verse on the leaf to her. She recognizes it as her own.

The Song story “Record of the drifting red leaf” is more elaborate. According to the story as it appears in *Qingsuo gaoyi*, in the time of Emperor Tang Xizong (reigned 874–89) the scholar Yu You plucks a red leaf inscribed with a poem out of a canal flowing from the garden of the imperial palace. The poem reads:

Why must the flowing water be so hasty?  
(While I am) deep in the palace, idle all day.  
I courteously thank the red leaf,  
It easily goes to the world of men.<sup>7</sup>

Yu is fascinated by the verse and reads it constantly. Suffering from lovesickness and heedless of the mockery of his peers, he pens an answering verse on another leaf. He then puts this leaf into the imperial canal, and it goes against the flow back into the garden. Yu later goes to work for a man with a high position named Han Yong. Han proposes a match between Yu and Lady Han, who has just retired from the ranks of the palace women hoping to be favored by the emperor. After their marriage, Yu and Lady Han discover that each had found the poem written by the other.

The story ends happily. Due to the marvelous circumstances surrounding his marriage, Yu You comes to the attention of the emperor and attains official success. Lady Han gives birth to five sons and three daughters, who all distinguish themselves by becoming officials (the sons) or marrying well (the daughters).

The author’s closing commentary on “Record of the drifting red leaf” prefigures Ming concerns with authentic sentiment (*qing*) and at the same time distinguishes this Song rendition from later Ming versions:

Flowing water is without sentiment (*qing* 情); a red leaf is without sentiment as well. To have written on an object without sentiment, and to have entrusted it to another entity also without sentiment in order to search for a person *with* sentiment, to ultimately have a person with sentiment attain it, and further to be united with that person—I am sure that this is something unheard of in previous generations. As for a match that heaven has ordained, no matter if you are at the opposite ends of the empire the match will come about. If heaven doesn’t permit the match, then you can be as close as next door, and it still won’t be attained. Those who take pleasure in attaining and delight in seeking may read this and take warning.<sup>8</sup>

In this commentary, we see an invocation of the term *qing* that became so loaded with meaning centuries later, during the late Ming. However, in contrast to Ming concerns, the sentiment in the story is appreciated as a novelty, “something unheard of in previous generations,” but is not considered the primary impetus for the described events. Fate, rather than sentiment, has brought the two lovers together. The commentator sees the story not only as proof that fate is the most important determinant of a happy match but as a cautionary tale for those inclined to seek out romance on their own.

The Tang short anecdote about Hou Jitu and Madame Ren and the more elaborate Song story of Yu You and Lady Han both feature a lonely woman writing a poem on a leaf and the coincidence that the finder of the poem is later united in matrimony with the author. They share other significant similarities as well. In both these stories, the poet herself does not appear until almost the end of the action; the stories begin with the male protagonist and his discovery of her poem. The poems written by these lonely ladies contrast the physically immobile woman to the movement of the natural force to which she entrusts her sentiment. In the poem discovered by Hou Jitu, the writer will get only as far as the “porch in front of the hall,” but the leaf will “ascend with the wind.” Lady Han contrasts the rushing water with her own idleness and her position deep within the palace walls to the leaf’s ability to flow out of the palace into the world beyond.

Ming dramatic versions of these stories reproduce the women’s poems. In these plays, both the arias and the illustrations further underline the contrast created in the poems. The original poems, the arias, and the illustrations all combine to emphasize that natural forces circulate the sentiment that would otherwise be hemmed in by the walls that surround the women.

The Tang and Song renditions, however, focus very much on the moment the leaf is found by a sympathetic reader and thus on the man who discovers the leaf. As we will see, this emphasis changes in Ming renditions of the story, which pay equal, if not more, attention to the heroine’s actions of inscribing the poem and sending it out beyond her domestic space.

### **Circulation of the Stories in the Ming Dynasty**

Both “Hou Jitu” and the story of Lady Han and Yu You circulated in a variety of late Ming publications as a result of the vitality of the print industry during this period. The Tang and Song anthologies in which the stories originally appeared became more widely available as part of the general surge in print production; the reappearance in print of stories about inscribing a poem on a leaf seems to have led to a revival of interest in the theme.<sup>9</sup> *Taiping guangji* was published twice between the years 1522 and 1566, and again in 1626 by the late Ming writer, editor, and publisher



Feng Menglong 馮夢龍 (1574–1646). The *Qingsuo gaoyi* was published in 1585.<sup>10</sup> The two stories also appeared, both individually and together, in a wide assortment of other sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century anthologies of classical language anecdotes, poetry, and drama (see appendix).

The inscribing a poem on a leaf stories in Ming anthologies of classical language fiction and poetry evidence a switch in focus—from the male protagonist to the female protagonist—similar to what we will see in dramatic renditions of the theme. Concomitant with this shift is a stronger emphasis on the women's poems and the authentic sentiment that prompted their production.

An entry in the encyclopedia *Shantang sikao* 山堂肆考 published sometime between 1595 and 1619 represents this trend toward heightened attention on the female protagonist and her sentiments. The Hou Jitu story is abbreviated to little more than two sentences, one introducing Hou and describing his discovery of the poem and one commenting that Hou and Madame Ren were eventually married. In contrast, Madame Ren's poem is reproduced not only in its entirety but in an even longer version. After the original conclusion come four more lines:

Those in the world without a heart,  
will not recognize the meaning of longing.  
With a heart, or heartless;  
who knows where the leaf will fall?<sup>11</sup>

These lines draw further attention to the woman poet and also emphasize the random possibilities inherent in the act of entrusting a leaf with a poem. This addition portrays Madame Ren's search for someone "with a heart" as the courageous action of someone totally committed to passion and thus reflects the late Ming valorization of women as vessels of pure sentiment. Other Ming compendia in which this story appears reproduce this version of the poem rather than the original version that appeared in the *Taiping Guangji*.

A late Ming equating of Madame Ren and her poem with authentic sentiment is seen even more clearly in *A History of Sentiment* (Qingshi leilüe), the anthology of classical language anecdotes published after 1628. The editor of this anthology, Feng Menglong, the publisher of one edition of *Taiping Guangji*, was a primary proponent of the late Ming "cult of sentiment."<sup>12</sup> In prefaces to his vernacular short story collections, Feng expounds on the socially ameliorative aspects of these works precisely because they express authentic sentiment. In the preface to *A History of Sentiment*, he makes a similar claim for classical stories:

Again, my intent has been to choose the best from among the stories concerning sentiment, both ancient and contemporary, and to write up a brief account for each, so that I might make known to men the abiding nature of sentiment, and thereby turn the unfeeling into men of sensitivity, and transform private feelings into public concern.<sup>13</sup>

This focus on sentiment is also apparent in the collection's individual entries on stories related to "inscribing a poem on a leaf."

Feng had published an edition of *Taiping Guangji* only a few years earlier and thus was surely familiar with Madame Ren's poem as it appeared in the Tang collection. Yet, while he quotes almost verbatim the "Hou Jitu" story from *Taiping Guangji*, he concludes Madame Ren's poem with the four extra lines found in the *Shantang Sikao* and other Ming anthologies. Feng then adds his own comments to the story, focusing on the woman's emotions:

Five or six years earlier Madame Ren already understood longing; her wind-blown sentiment surely surpassed others. The hidden jade was not sold and ultimately returned to the one who picked up the leaf. Once the red cord has been tied, it cannot be forced.<sup>14</sup>

Feng begins with praise for Madame Ren and her *qing*, which "surely surpassed others," but he also points out that the woman's action was ultimately vindicated by fate. His comments place the story firmly in his chosen category of "fated *qing*" 情緣, which, as another preface to the collection points out, "makes readers understand the inevitability of fate."<sup>15</sup> Feng's words also suggest that while he did not necessarily deem the story a "warning," as did the Song commentator of the *Qingsuo gaoyi*, he was still acutely aware that it raised the possibilities of dangerously transgressive behavior. Thus, he is at pains to justify her *qing* as fated, as he does in his final assertion: "Once the red cord has been tied, it cannot be forced."

In the Yu You and Lady Han story titled "Yu You," which appears in "Matchmakers of sentiment," section 12 of *History of Emotion*, we see a similar shift in narrative attention to the female protagonist.<sup>16</sup> While the title suggests a focus on the male, this much abbreviated retelling of the story actually concentrates on Lady Han and her poetry. Feng not only leaves out Yu You's poem, he also elides most of the details regarding Yu You found in the original Song story.

Feng further draws attention to the romantic aspects by connecting the story to drama in a closing statement: "Wang Boliang has written the *chuanqi* (drama) *Ti hong*." Here, Feng refers to the thirty-six act play *Record of Inscribing on a Red Leaf* by Wang Jide (explored in more detail below), which represents the most detailed

and expanded version of the love story. Feng's mention of the play reflects his deep involvement with popular literature, which, as noted above, he championed as being of comparable moral value to the classics; in the same statement, he demonstrates his familiarity with the various classical sources of the story.<sup>17</sup>

While Feng presented his publications as morally uplifting, they were still a moneymaking enterprise.<sup>18</sup> The commercial appeal of romance can be seen even more clearly in another collection of anecdotes published in the Ming, *Compilation of the Captivating and Extraordinary* (Yan yi bian 艷異編), which also incorporates the story of Yu You and Lady Han. A comparison of *Compilation of the Captivating and Extraordinary* with *A History of Sentiment* reveals both the relatively more intellectually serious stance taken by Feng as well as a shared focus on the romantic and the unusual. The two collections have many stories in common. For example, the editions of *Compilation* that feature the Yu You and Lady Han story include it in a section titled "Assignations" along with "Record of Jiao and Hong" (Jiao Hong ji 嬌紅記), another love story in the classical language that also appeared in *A History of Sentiment*. Like "Yu You," "Record of Jiao and Hong" was the basis of a *chuanqi* play of the same title by the late Ming dramatist Meng Chengshun (1599–circa 1684).<sup>19</sup>

Unlike the stories in *History*, those in *Compilation* for the most part appear without editorial comment. And overall, *Compilation of the Captivating and Extraordinary* is more blatant in its attempts to be commercially appealing; witness its titillating title.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, the similarities of the two collections reveal the subtle ways in which *A History of Sentiment* was produced with the market in mind, specifically, readers of literary works featuring women and romance.

### Anthologies of Women's Poetry in the Late Ming and Qing

This market was a major impetus to another vogue within late Ming publishing that also featured stories on inscribing on a red leaf; that is, a surge in the publication of women's poetry.<sup>21</sup> In several of the Ming collections mentioned above, the stories are abbreviated to the point where there is almost nothing left but the women's poems. Over time, this trend led to the poems appearing with other works by female poets in a number of Ming and Qing anthologies, and both Madame Ren and Lady Han acquired a quasi-historical status.

An early instance of Madame Ren and Lady Han presented as historical figures occurs in the collection of biographies titled *History of Women Poets* (Shi nü shi 詩女史), published in 1558.<sup>22</sup> Lady Han's poem on a leaf appears in a group entry dedicated to palace women who wrote poetry on leaves; the story of Madame Ren and her poem is told in a separate entry.<sup>23</sup> This collection is also the earliest instance I have located of the longer version of Madame Ren's poem which, as I have argued above, emphasizes her deep commitment to sentiment.



The “leaf” poems and biographical notices describing Madame Ren and Lady Han as historical figures appeared in several late Ming and Qing poetry anthologies.<sup>24</sup> This blurring of the lines between history and fiction culminated in the inclusion of poems by both these fictional characters in the *Complete Tang Poems* (Quan Tang Shi 全唐詩) commissioned by the Qing Kangxi emperor in 1705 and completed some two years later.<sup>25</sup> The poems also appeared in later collections of women’s poetry.<sup>26</sup>

These poetry anthologies reflect the commercial appeal of women’s poetry as well as the strong hold that romantic fiction and drama had on the late Imperial imagination. Madame Ren and Lady Han were not the only subjects of fiction and drama whose poems appeared in the *Complete Tang Poems*. This anthology, like many of the others mentioned above, includes the poems of Cui Yingying, the heroine of the Tang tale “The Story of Yingying” and the play *Romance of the Western Wing*.<sup>27</sup> It seems that the late Imperial market for women’s poetry led editors to cast as wide a net as possible when searching for historical precedents.

While commercial interests might have spurred these confluences of history and fiction, it should be remembered that the late Ming was a period in which people delighted in the blurring of these boundaries, particularly when it came to drama performance and publication.<sup>28</sup> Dorothy Ko, for example, has described how women readers of *Peony Pavilion* played with notions of the real and the imaginary.<sup>29</sup> The strong responses to drama described by Ko and others as well as the upsurge in women’s production of poetry affirmed and encouraged a view of women as more capable than men of experiencing and expressing deep and authentic emotion. Within fictional and dramatic works, these qualities became the catalyst for the love stories. This equation of expression of authentic emotion with women writing poetry can also be seen in the development of the “inscribing a poem on a leaf” theme in drama.

### **The Hou Jitu Story in Drama: The Zaju Play *Wutong Leaf***

Drama publishing was another part of the industry that flourished in the late Ming. More than sixty editions of *Romance of the Western Wing* were published during the Ming dynasty.<sup>30</sup> Major anthologies of drama were published during this period as well.<sup>31</sup> The theme of “inscribing a poem on a leaf” was represented in one of these anthologies, *One Hundred Yuan Plays* (Yuanqu yibai zhong 元曲一百種, published 1615–16). This collection, which established the genre of *zaju* as canonical, includes the play *Li Yunying Sends a Wutong Leaf by Wind* (李雲英風送梧桐葉, short title *Wutong Leaf*), a dramatic rendition of the Hou Jitu story.

The publication history of *Wutong Leaf* suggests the particular attraction this theme held for late Ming readers. While there is no evidence that the play existed

prior to this time, three editions were published between the years 1573 and 1622.<sup>32</sup> Not only was it included in *One Hundred Yuan Plays*, but two other editions of the play also exist—a manuscript copied from the *Gu mingjia* anthology (published sometime during the Wanli period, 1573–1620) in Zhao Qimei's personal collection of drama texts, and an edition from the *Gu zaju* collection edited by Wang Jide 王驥德 (?–1623) and published sometime between 1615 and 1622.<sup>33</sup>

*Wutong Leaf* adds a number of emendations and embellishments to the Hou Jitu story, apparently drawn from two sources—stock situations in vernacular fiction and drama and traditions connected to poetry. In this play, the heroine is named Li Yunying rather than Madame Ren. She writes the poem on a leaf not to a stranger who eventually becomes her husband but directly to her husband, renamed Ren Jitu, from whom she has been separated due to the political unrest caused by the An Lushan rebellion (755–63). The prime minister, Niu Sengru, rescues and adopts Li Yunying and takes on the responsibility of finding her a husband. A family separated by civil insurgence is a conventional starting point in fiction and drama, and the plot device of a family of high status adopting a young woman and then making arrangements for her to marry is also fairly common.<sup>34</sup>

Practices related to poetry feature prominently in the play. Li Yunying makes several attempts to contact her husband through her verse. In act 1, she writes a poem on a wall in response to one that she believes is written by her husband. In act 2, she inscribes another poem on a leaf.<sup>35</sup> Ren Jitu retrieves the leaf, and husband and wife are finally reunited in the fourth act of the play.

*Wutong Leaf* is clearly based on “Hou Jitu,” but the emphasis of the play is different. Just like the stories in *History of Sentiment*, the play shifts the focus from the male to the female protagonist. In accordance with *zaju* convention, the female lead, Li Yunying, is the only character who sings in all four acts; thus, she is the mouthpiece for lyrical expression in the play. The Tang story begins with Hou Jitu finding the leaf, but in the play, Yunying's action of inscribing the poem and sending the leaf off on the wind is central, taking up almost the entirety of act 2. In this act, Yunying's writing of the poem on the leaf and the accompanying recitation is followed by a ritualized invocation to the wind to carry the leaf to her husband. The four arias that make up this invocation underline her sincerity as well as her gravity of purpose. Moreover, she rehearses the act of inscribing poetry in a public forum in act 1 when she writes a poem on a wall and recapitulates the action in her arias of act 4 as well.

Two characters unique to the play, Niu Sengru and his wife, act as *deus* and *dea ex machina* and facilitate the eventual reunion of the couple. Their comments also serve another purpose: they emphasize the social risks that Yunying dares to take in pursuit of this reunion. When Niu's wife catches Yunying writing the poem on

a wall, she articulates societal disapprobation for a woman writing poetry: “Yunying, you’re a member of the petticoat set; won’t writing a poem to match another’s lead to scandal?” Later, she scolds, “You’re a girl. I’m afraid that by writing poetry you will be scorned by onlookers.” While the chastised Yunying promises to never behave that way again, she does not let her oath stop her from inscribing a poem on a leaf and sending it into the wind in the next act. In act 4, when Yunying’s act of writing on a leaf is revealed, Niu Sengru initially questions her loyalty precisely because of this action:

You’re a girl. Why would you write a poem on a Wutong leaf? What’s more, in that secluded courtyard, who could send it out for you? At that time you also didn’t know where the prize scholar had ended up. Could it be that you had another love in mind?<sup>36</sup>

Just as his wife did in act 1, Niu voices the apprehension that a woman who would send her poetry beyond domestic borders is one who is indiscriminate in her passion. Yunying refutes Niu’s suspicions with arias, arguing that her poems were written expressly for her husband, that her emotion was thus focused and authentic, and finally that if her emotions had not been sincere then nature (in the form of the wind) would not have been moved to come to her aid.

Various choices made by the Ming editors of *Wutong Leaf* further foreground the centrality of Li Yunying, her poem, and the authentic emotion that prompted it. Comparisons of the three extant editions of the play show that Zang Maoxun, the editor of *One Hundred Yuan Plays*, was fairly restrained in his editing. However, one of the few places where he did intervene is in Li Yunying’s poem. In the other two editions of the play, the poem is a somewhat garbled version of the one that appears in the *Taiping Guangji* rather than the longer one that appears in other Ming anthologies. All the drama texts substitute the word sentiment (*qing*) for the word heart (*xin*), which links the poem and the play to Ming concerns. Zang Maoxun follows this substitution and at the same time restores the final two lines that appear in the Ming anthologies. As a result, he further extends the moment Li Yunying sends off the poem, thus emphasizing the action’s centrality.

### Visual Representations of the “Hou Jitu” Story: Illustrations of *Wutong Leaf*

Another important editorial choice was how to present the play visually. The two illustrated editions, *One Hundred Yuan Plays* and *Gu zaju*, both feature an illustration of act 2, that is, Li Yunying writing on the leaf. Yunying begins and ends her appearance on stage in this act with descriptions of the autumn wind. The illustra-





2

2  
Illustration from *Wutong Leaf*, act 2, from the Guquzhai edition. After *Gu ben xi qu cong kan si ji* 古本戲曲叢刊四集 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1958), vol. 2.

tion in *One Hundred Yuan Plays* (fig. 1) depicts a Wutong tree partially denuded of leaves. The leaves flying through the air, the flowing lines of the women's clothing, and the windswept vegetation in the background bring to mind the wind that is the focus of the act's arias. In the *Gu zaju* illustration (fig. 2), the animated lines that detail the background clouds also suggest atmospheric movement caused by wind. The exuberant rendition of these clouds are mirrored by the ripples of the flowing water that begins at the middle left of the scene and arcs around Yunying to reappear in the left front. The ripples are drawn tightly and vibrantly, thus accentuating the force of nature and the strength of the woman's emotions.

In the arias of act 2 there is an implicit contrast between Yunying's immobility and the liberty enjoyed by the wind. She entrusts the leaf to the wind precisely because, unlike her, the wind is free to come and go. Both illustrations of this scene clearly indicate the boundaries that confine her. The walls that surround the female figures are geometrical frames that contrast with the fluid lines used to depict the natural elements.

These illustrations locate Yunying's passionate act within a domestic frame. They are thus analogous to other alterations made to the Tang classical story within the plot of the play. Specifically, Yunying is a married woman seeking her husband, rather than a young girl sending lines of passion to a stranger. Her search for emotion is in service of a domestic and thus orthodox goal: a reunion with her husband and a restoration of their marriage. Her husband is also guided by orthodox values. Although he is loyal to Yunying, he does not allow his search for her to interfere with his pursuit of success in the imperial examinations. These ideals are reiterated in the four-line poem with which the play ends:

Husband and wife maintaining their chastity is a matter worthy of empathy.  
Bestowing benevolence on righteous behavior, the minister is wise.



3

3

Illustration from *Wutong Leaf*, act 4, Zang Maoxun ed., *One Hundred Yuan Plays*. After photolithographic reprint of Hanfen lou edition (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1918), box 5, vol. 34.

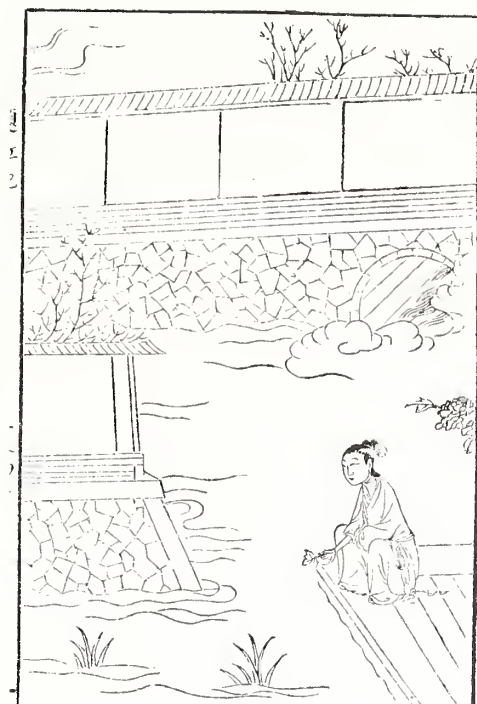
Examination rolls list the names and two have made the grade;  
By the candlelight of the nuptial chamber there are two reunions.<sup>37</sup>

By the logic of this poem and indeed the play itself, the just rewards for chastity and righteousness are first, success in the examinations, and second, a happy marriage.

In the *One Hundred Yuan Plays* edition, the illustration of act 4 of the play underlines this triumphant denouement by depicting the moment when Yunying and her husband come face to face while he parades through the capital after having passed the imperial examinations (fig. 3). Within this public scene celebrating Ren Jitu's success is a diagonal telling of the private love story between husband and wife. Ren, seated on a horse in the right forefront, lifts his hands and directs his gaze upward and toward Li Yunying, who in turn gestures and gazes down at him. Following this diagonal space upward one can see a cluster of Wutong leaves hanging off a tree in the background. In this illustration, as in the play itself, the sentiments of husband and wife play out within a public arena but are simultaneously safely contained by their relationship.

### **The Chuanqi Play Record of Inscribing on a Red Leaf**

The *chuanqi* drama *Record of Lady Han Inscribing on a Red Leaf* (Han Furen ti hong ji 韓夫人題紅記), an expansion of the story "Record of the Drifting Red Leaf," provides an interesting example of the involvement of literati in drama publishing during the late Ming.<sup>38</sup> The author of this *chuanqi*, Wang Jide, the editor of the *Gu zaju* series of plays, is an important figure in the history of Ming drama. An author of both *zaju* and *chuanqi*, Wang is particularly famous for his collation and annotation of *Story of the Western Wing*, and also for his influential contribution to drama criticism and theory *Qu lü*.<sup>39</sup>



4



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Illustration from act 17 of *Record of Inscribing on a Red Leaf*. After *Gu ben xi qu cong kan er ji* 古本戲曲叢刊二集 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1955), vol. 40.

Wang wrote his version of *Record* in his youth, as early as 1561.<sup>40</sup> The play was probably published in 1583, slightly before our extant editions of *Wutong Leaf*.<sup>41</sup> Wang Jide was apparently familiar with how the story of Yu You and Lady Han had been represented in *zaju*. In his introduction to the play, Wang states that he derived Yu You's style name (Youzhi 祐之) and the names for the two female characters, Han Cuiping and her maid Yuying, from Yuan plays.<sup>42</sup> We can also infer that Wang was also well acquainted with *Wutong Leaf* as he included it among the plays he published in the *Gu zaju* series.

*Record* shares many similar features with *Wutong Leaf*, the *zaju* adaptation of the Hou Jitu story. Like the *zaju*, the *chuanqi* includes many stock situations from romantic drama and fiction to flesh out the story.<sup>43</sup> Most notably, in *Record* the female lead, Han Cuiping, is the daughter of the prime minister, a typical beauty (*jiaren* 佳人), and thus, according to the expectations of romance, a fitting match for Yu You, the talented scholar (*caizi* 才子).

The conventions of *chuanqi* drama dictate that, until they come together, the male and female leads take turns in the spotlight, usually appearing in roughly alternate scenes. While a shift of focus from the male protagonist to the female protagonist is therefore not as marked in *Record* as it is in *Wutong Leaf*, nevertheless, it is still apparent. While in the classical story Lady Han does not make an appearance until she is wed to Yu You, the play introduces Han Cuiping even before she enters the palace.

As in the *zaju* rendition of the theme, the act of writing on a leaf and entrusting it to a moving element is central in the *chuanqi*. In fact, Cuiping explicitly parallels her story to *Wutong Leaf* by citing "Hou Jitu" as an inspiration for entrusting her feelings to a leaf. And she too ritually invokes the flowing water to aid her, just as Li Yunying does with the autumn wind.

The very structure of the *chuanqi* play emphasizes the centrality of Cuiping's act. Acts 17, 18, and 19, which fall in the middle of the thirty-six-act play, depict Han



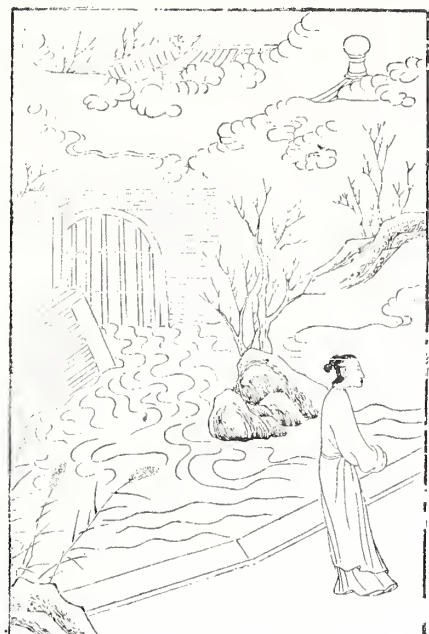
Cuiping sending the leaf out of the palace garden (act 17); Yu You discovering the leaf, inscribing a poem in response, and sending it back (act 18); and finally Cuiping discovering the leaf with Yu's response (act 19). Attention is further directed toward Cuiping in that while Lady Han's poems from the original story are incorporated into the dialogue, Yu You's poem is not.

### **Illustrations in *Record of Inscribing on a Red Leaf***

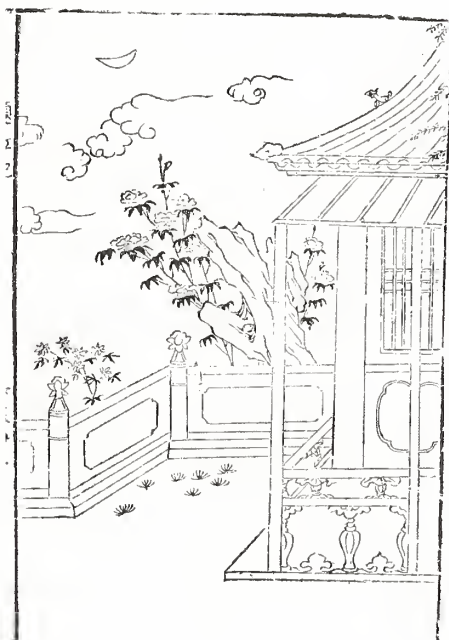
The two-page illustrations that accompany acts 17 and 19 not only focus on Han Cuiping and her emotions but also visually tie the play to *Wutong Leaf*. In the illustration to act 17 (fig. 4), we see her at a stone table, her writing utensils in front of her, as she watches her maid place the leaf in the canal. In the illustration to act 19 (fig. 5), she seems to be showing the leaf she has just plucked from the canal to her friend Lady Xu. The walls surrounding Cuiping and the flowing water that escape this confinement form an important component in both these illustrations. The illustration to act 17 reflects the action in the play and also creates visual connections to *Wutong Leaf*, particularly the *Guzaju* edition, through the barriers framing Han Cuiping, the leafless trees and sweep of clouds in the background, and the small Wutong tree and Taihu rock in the foreground.<sup>44</sup> All these elements are repeated in the illustration for act 19.

While the natural elements reoccur in the act 19 illustration, the depiction of the background scenery at the same time contrasts with that in act 17, reflecting the development of the love story. In act 19, the movement of the clouds and the water are much more emphatically rendered through agitated swirling lines, while the barriers, although still present, are correspondingly less obvious as they are shrouded by clouds. The Wutong tree in this scene is large and powerful, and the Taihu rock is also significantly larger than the one illustrated in act 17. The force of Yu You's sentiment, represented by the leaf he has sent back, has triumphantly breached the barriers surrounding Cuiping.

If the illustrations accompanying acts 17 and 19 reflect the development of the love story, the one accompanying act 33 (fig. 6) reflects its denouement. Act 33 relates the discovery Han Cuiping and Yu You make on their wedding night: each has kept the poem written on the leaf by the other. The illustration depicts them seated across from each other. On the table in front of them two Wutong leaves of equal size point to each other, thus signifying that their emotions are equally matched. The figures of Han Cuiping and Yu You are similarly matched in size and gesture. Even their chair backs, which curve around and embrace the couple, are symmetrical. The natural elements that brought the couple together are represented by the garden scenery, including a Wutong tree, that frames the building.



5



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### Sentiment within Limits

Again, as in *Wutong Leaf*, while sentiment is a major theme in *Record*, propriety keeps sentiment firmly in check. In a preface to the play, Wang Jide's fellow dramatist Tu Long 屠隆 (1542–1605) begins by identifying sentiment as “life.”<sup>45</sup> Before her maid places the leaf in the water, Cuiping admonishes the leaf to find her one “with sentiment.” Details added to the original story however, both bring it more in line with the “talented scholar and beauty” plot typical of *chuanqi* drama and also place the love story within a framework of social and even supernatural ratification. Yu You is a bosom buddy of Cuiping’s paternal cousin; Cuiping’s father actively promotes the match after his daughter has been excused from her service as a palace

woman. Immediately before Yu You comes on stage in act 18, a god appears and reverses the flow of the canal so that his leaf can travel to the palace garden and be found by Cuiping—a clear sign that their alliance has the blessings of heaven. After Cuiping has been released from the palace, she refrains from enlisting her parents' help to find the one who has written on the leaf, as her maid Yuying suggests she do, and instead leaves it up to fate, which, it turns out, is on her side.

To all the powers that be then, Yu You and Han Cuiping form a match as perfect as the two leaves that they discover in each other's possession on their wedding night. While there is a slight nod to possible social recriminations—Cuiping is somewhat embarrassed to confess her action to her parents—for the most part, the sense of inevitability contains the love story just as the palace walls once contained Cuiping.

Drama and its visual representation are not reflections of reality; rather they act as an arena in which social ideals and even social fantasies can be collectively imagined.<sup>46</sup> The two plays *Wutong Leaf* and *Record of Inscribing on a Red Leaf* and the illustrations of their central scenes suggest that even while fantasizing, their male authors and editors were so uneasy about women's romantic expression that they needed to keep it in check.

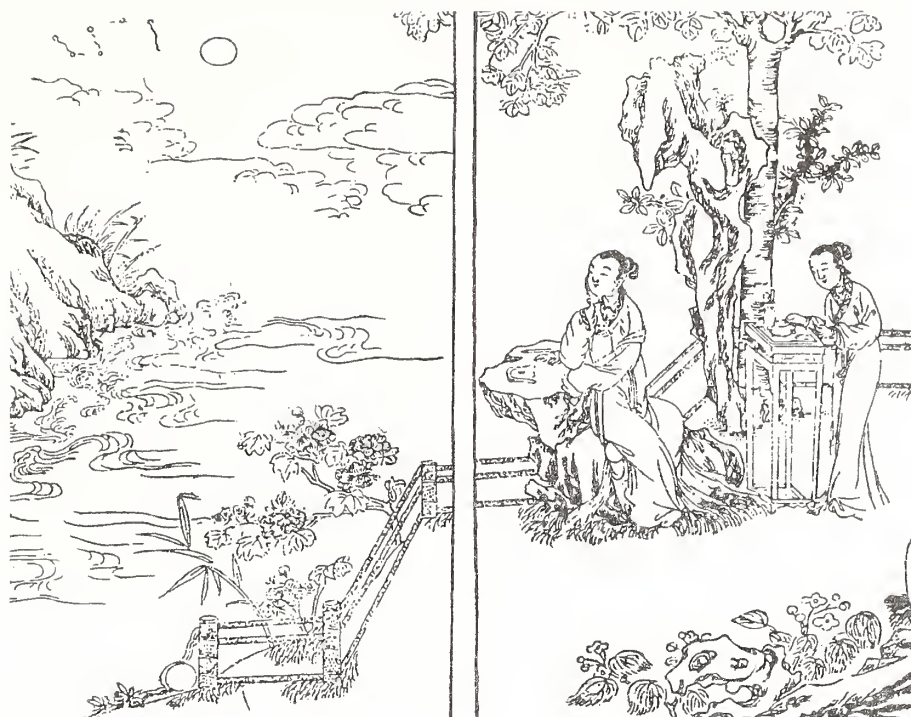
Nevertheless, while these plays emit mixed signals on the propriety of women sending their words beyond the walls that enclose them, the centrality of their action to the plays seems, especially in comparison with the classical tales, to reflect a fascination with the female expression of "authentic emotion." This idealization was affirmed by and at the same time further promoted the increasing publication of women's poetry discussed earlier in this essay.

### Ming and Qing Dramatic Song Collections

We find further evidence for the appeal that the image of "inscribing a poem on a leaf" held in the late Ming if we turn to another type of drama publication—dramatic song collections. Songs and song sets excerpted from plays on the theme of "inscribing a poem on a leaf" appeared regularly in dramatic song collections from the early and mid-Ming until well into the Qing dynasty. These song anthologies demonstrate a steady interest in the theme. Moreover, in their selection strategies, we can also get a sense of which aspects of the dramatic renditions of the story were seen as particularly compelling.

Three collections of song sets provide special insights into the place of Wang Jide's play in the Ming and Qing imagination. *Nanbei ci guangyun xuan* 南北詞廣韻選, *Yuelu yin* 月露音, and *Qunying leixuan* 群音類選 all reproduce partial song sets from various scenes within *Record*.<sup>47</sup> All three include portions of the song sets from scenes 17 and 18—the middle scenes of the play in which Lady Han writes





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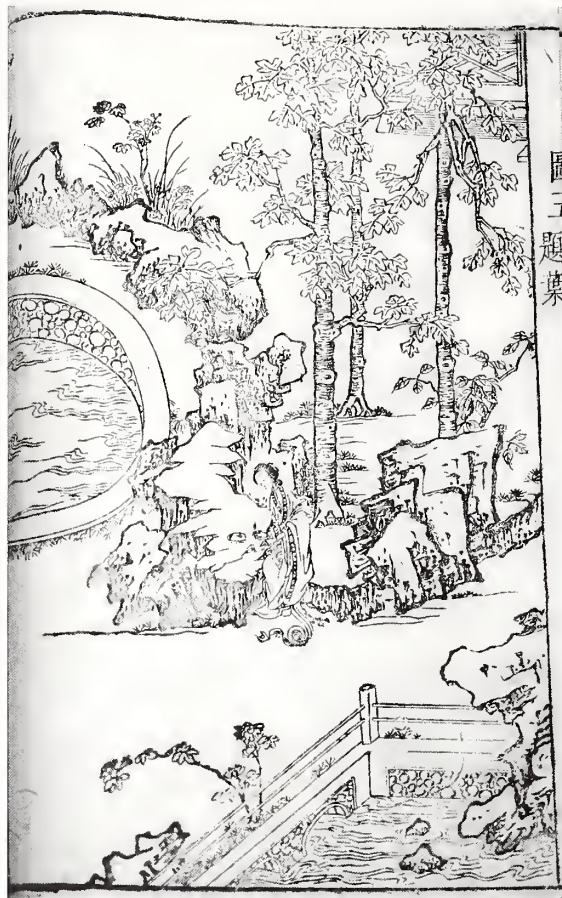
7  
Illustration from dramatic song  
collection *Great and Eloquent  
Northern Palace Tunes Ancient and  
Modern*. After Zhou Xinhui 周心慧  
and Wang Zhijun 王致軍, eds. *Zhong  
guo gu dai xi qu ban hua ji* 中國古  
代戲曲版畫集 (Beijing: Xueyuan  
chubanshe, 2000).

her poem on the leaf and Yu You discovers it and sends one back. Two of the collections, *Yuelu yin* and *Qunyin leixuan*, include scene 19 (in which Lady Han discovers the leaf Yu has sent) and scene 33 (the wedding night) as well.

The editors of *Yuelu yin* display a marked preference for *Record*. More extracts from *Record* appear in this collection—nine in all—than from even the immensely popular *Peony Pavilion*.<sup>48</sup> *Yuelu yin* is illustrated; the illustrations in *Record* that accompany scene 17, “Inscribing on a Red Leaf,” and scene 18, “Returning an Inscription” enrich our understanding of how the story was visualized. These illustrations repeat the elements depicted in the dramas discussed above. In the illustration for “Inscribing on a Red Leaf,” we see the Wutong tree, the autumnal vegetation in the form of chrysanthemums, the Taihu rock on which the leaf is placed, the palace walls, and the running water that flows out of the enclosure. All these elements also appear in the illustration for “Returning the Inscription.”<sup>49</sup>

The theme of “inscribing a poem on a leaf” is represented visually in an illustration found in another collection of dramatic songs, *Great and Eloquent Northern Palace Tunes Ancient and Modern* (Gujin daya beigong ciji 古今大雅北宮詞紀), published in 1604. While songs from *Record* appear in its counterpart *Great and Eloquent Southern Palace Tunes Ancient and Modern*, this collection of northern songs features none from the *zaju* plays on the theme of “inscribing a poem on a leaf.” Nevertheless, a two-page illustration of a woman inscribing a poem on a leaf (fig. 7) appears in the table of contents of the sixth volume. In more than one extant copy of the anthology, this illustration is the only one in the whole collection.<sup>50</sup>

In this print, we see all the elements present in the drama illustrations we have been viewing: the leaf by the woman’s hand, the Taihu rock upon which she writes, and the Wutong tree in the background. The barriers that enclose her run to the left-hand page. In a split that, as Robert Hegel has noted, is often seen in Wanli play illustrations, the left-hand page depicts a nature scene with both running water and



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*Inscribing a Leaf*, illustration from  
*Lady Scholars of the Green Windows*.  
Photo from copy held by the National  
Central Library, Taiwan.

atmospheric movement rendered by tight, swirling lines. While Hegel states that this half of the scene typically represents nothing more than a chance to add the “intrinsic beauty” of nature to the print, in this case, the split between nature and the human world very effectively emphasizes the mobility of the natural elements and the stillness of the woman.<sup>51</sup>

This illustration is a wonderful example of the high level of artistry achieved by Wanli woodblock prints; it also suggests that, just as Madame Ren and Lady Han had become standard figures in poetry anthologies, “inscribing a poem on a leaf” had become an integral part of the visual culture, at least for literati readers of dramatic songs. Apparently, references to the story, whether in words or image, were part of an arsenal of allusions that playwrights and illustrators could draw upon to evoke romantic associations. Tang Xianzu, for instance, has his heroine, Du Liniang, allude to “inscribing a poem on a red leaf” in the drama *Peony Pavilion*.<sup>52</sup> Several different characters mention it in Meng Chengshun’s drama *Record of Jiao and Hong*.<sup>53</sup> I explore this possibility and its implications in more detail below.

### **Drama and the Ming–Qing Imagination: Evidence from the Visual Arts**

Did the theme of “inscribing a poem on a leaf,” along with its romantic connotations, extend into a broader visual field? Evidence is somewhat limited, but from what little I could find, the answer is yes. I noted earlier that Feng Menglong concluded his entry on Yu You in the *History of Qing* by citing Wang Jide’s play. I would argue that another, this time visual, allusion to *Record of Inscribing on a Leaf* occurs

in *Lady Scholars of the Green Windows* (Lüchuang nǚshi 綠窗女士), the seventeenth-century anthology focused on women.

*Lady Scholars of the Green Windows* includes, as Katherine Carlitz has observed, “every possible category of good story.”<sup>54</sup> I would further assert that the collection attempts to present every possible aspect of a woman’s experience as an object of aesthetic appreciation. The various texts included in *Lady Scholars of the Green Windows* range from treatises on women’s virtue to recipes to palindromes written by women to classical short stories featuring female protagonists. The compendium begins with sixteen woodblock prints depicting women engaged in activities that range from the quotidian to the extraordinary.<sup>55</sup> Among these prints is one titled *Inscribing on a leaf* (fig. 8).

Neither the story of Lady Han nor that of Madame Ren appears within the print portion of the anthology, but the print titled *Inscribing on a leaf* clearly reflects the influence of drama illustrations. Not only do the circular tunnel representing the imperial canal and the exuberant movement of water within the canal resemble illustrations in *Record of Inscribing on a Red Leaf*, but in the foreground there are barriers that confine the woman. Moreover, the Taihu rock on which she places her writing utensils, the Wutong trees, and other autumnal vegetation in the background all recall the drama illustrations examined above.

Pictures of Madame Ren and Lady Han were also included in Qing print collections of portraits of famous beauties. These collections seem to be popular and (relatively) mass-produced responses to the painting albums of beautiful women (*shi nǚ* 仕女) composed by Qing artists connected to the court.<sup>56</sup> While the painting albums depict generic women engaged in upper-class leisure activities—such as appreciating paintings, playing on swings in a garden, playing chess, etc.—the print collections depict women from myth, history, and fiction. However, the woodblock-print portraits of these historical and fictional women are equally generic; visually, they are only distinguished from each other by props that suggest their identity. In sum, both the painting albums and the print collections present women as aesthetic objects to be collected and catalogued. Thus, they also resemble *Lady Scholars of the Green Windows* and late Ming and Qing anthologies of women’s poetry. All these collections clearly aim for comprehensive coverage of the feminine, whether images or writing. Furthermore, in their quest for comprehensiveness, just like the poetry anthologies and *Lady Scholars*, the print portrait collections also blur the lines between fiction and reality: the women portrayed encompass goddesses, historical figures, and heroines from fiction and drama.

The influence of drama is apparent in the illustrations of Madame Ren and Lady Han in the Qing woodblock print collections. For example, in *New Chants on One Hundred Beauties: Pictures and Biographies* (Baimei xinyong tu zhuan 百美新詠





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*Han Cuiping*, illustration in *Baimei xinyong tu zhuan* by Yan Xiyuan 顏希源, act. 1787–1804, (n.p., 1790–1804). Published with permission of Marquand Library of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University.

圖傳) by the painter Yan Xiyuan 顏希源 (active 1787–1804), the entry titled Han Cuiping (fig. 9) calls to mind the *chuanqi* play *Record of Inscribing on a Red Leaf*, not only through the name given Lady Han (i.e., Cuiping) but also through the imagery. In this print Han Cuiping sits on a Taihu rock in front of what seems to be the bank of the imperial canal; in one hand she holds a leaf, in the other, a brush poised over her ink stone, with autumnal vegetation in the background. Despite these similarities to the drama illustrations, this print is different in one key aspect: the movement of water and atmosphere is conspicuously absent. Without the movement of natural forces, attention is directed solely at the motionless woman and her beautiful face.

The late Qing artist Wang Su 王素 (1794–1877) includes two pictures on the theme in a collection of one hundred prints of beautiful women. The narrative that accompanies the print titled *Inscribing a poem on a red leaf* (fig. 10) explicitly ties the image to Han Cuiping, and in the print itself we see the familiar elements of the Taihu rock, the balustrade enclosing the scene, and the autumn vegetation in the background. Like Yan Xiyuan's print, and unlike the drama illustrations, there is no moving water in this portrait of Han Cuiping.

The nineteenth-century illustrator Wu Youru 吳友如 (1850–1893) composed images of both “Han Caiping” (*sic*, fig. 11) and Madame Ren among his *One Hundred Beauties Ancient and Modern* (*Gujin baimei tu* 古今百美圖).<sup>57</sup> The inscription next to the titles briefly retells the two women's stories, including complete reproductions of their poems. Both illustrations feature barriers and autumnal veg-



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Wang Su, *Inscribing a Poem on a Red Leaf*. After Fei, Xiaolou, Qi Gai, Su Wang, and Baomin Li, *Wan Qing San Ming Jia Hui Bai Mei Tu*. Shu yun lou cong kan (Shanghai: Shanghai gu ji chu ban she, 2005).

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*Han Caiping*, in Wu Youru *Huabao* (Shanghai: Bi yuan hui she, Min guo 5 [1916]), vol. 4, 4b. Photo courtesy of the C. V. Starr East Asian Library, University of California, Berkeley.

etation. We do see running water in the portrait of Han Caiping, but unlike most of the drama prints, the lines representing the water undulate in broad curves, suggesting a leisurely flow.

The contrast between the immobile woman and dynamic natural forces is absent in all three of the Qing woodblock prints discussed above. Lacking this contrast, the possibility of breaching the barriers fades away. The scenes are beautiful, but static. We will see a similar trend in Qing paintings.

There is some evidence that the theme of “writing a poem on a red leaf” in painting existed as early as the Northern Song. However, the earliest extant example that I could find dates from the Ming dynasty. These paintings suggest that images from drama illustrations began to influence visualizations of this theme in the late Ming and continued to do so into modern times. At the same time, like the Qing prints on the theme, later paintings highlight the romantic beauty of the moment while erasing any hint of transgression.

An early example of a painted rendition on the theme of “inscribing on a leaf” is a hanging scroll (fig. 12) by the Ming painter Tang Yin (1470–1523).<sup>58</sup> In Tang Yin’s painting, the woman is standing. In one hand she holds a pen above a red leaf resting in her other palm. The sweeping lines of her clothing suggest movement. Overall, the image reflects the third line of Madame Ren’s poem: “Picking up a pen, I ascend to the terrace in front of the hall.” The natural elements featured in drama illustrations—agitated clouds, flowing water, the Taihu rock, and Wutong trees and other autumnal vegetation—are all absent.

Tang Yin died some forty years before Wang Jide wrote *Record* and sixty years before the illustrated versions of *Record* and *Wutong Leaf* were published. Furthermore, the scroll is inscribed with the line “(After) Wang Juzheng of the Song, Painting of Inscribing on a Red Leaf” 宋王居正紅葉題詩圖.<sup>59</sup> This reference to a now-lost painting by a Song artist known for his paintings of beautiful women sug-





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Tang Yin, *Inscribing a Poem on a Red Leaf*, Ming dynasty, 16th century.  
Freer Gallery of Art, Gift of Charles  
Lang Freer, F1917.335.

gests that Tang's painting represents the theme as it appeared in visual art before the dramas were published.

However, in the painting titled *Red Leaf, Inscribing Verses* 紅葉題詩 (fig. 13) by Chen Hongshou (1598–1652), the imagery differs from Tang Yin's portrait in ways that resemble the drama illustrations. Rather than standing, the woman is seated on a Taihu rock. In one hand she holds a sprig of chrysanthemum to her nose while the other hand rests on top of a red leaf; her writing utensils are arranged in front of her. While Chen Hongshou's painting is not as clearly related to the drama illustrations as is the woodblock print from *Lady Scholars of the Green Windows*, the placement of the writing instruments on the Taihu rock does recall the poses of the women in many of the Ming prints we have seen. Furthermore, in place of trees denuded of leaves, the woman holds a chrysanthemum, which signals the autumn season in a manner similar to the autumn foliage in the drama illustrations.

In describing Chen Hongshou's painting, James Cahill has spoken of an "uneasy relationship to tradition on the one hand and popular culture on the other" and has further noted that this relationship reflected Chen's own situation.<sup>60</sup> In addition to being a renowned painter from a literati family, Chen participated—as illustrator, preface writer, and commentator—in late Ming commercial drama publishing. He was credited with designing the woodblock illustrations to three different editions of *Romance of the Western Wing* during the Chongzhen period (1628–44) as well as the illustrations for *Record of Jiao and Hong* in 1639.<sup>61</sup> Chen also wrote prefaces and marginal commentary for *Record of Jiao and Hong* as well as other plays.<sup>62</sup> In a recent article, Tamara Heimarck Bentley discusses





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Chen Hongshou, *Red Leaf, Inscribing Verses*. After *Chen Hongshou Zuo pin ji* 陳洪綬作品集 (Hangzhou: Xi ling yin she, 1990).

how Chen's preface to *Record of Jiao and Hong* resonates with the ideas of Li Zhi on the value of authentic emotion.<sup>63</sup>

Given Chen's familiarity with late Ming drama and his expressed sympathy for Li Zhi's thought, the pose of the woman in his painting *Inscribing Poetry on a Red Leaf* might also signify his appreciation of the authenticity of emotion that playwrights attributed to the leaf-writing women and their poetry. The sprig of chrysanthemums that the woman holds is also an allusion to Tao Qian, who is pictured appreciating chrysanthemums in many paintings and woodblock prints. This Six Dynasties poet was known for his integrity and purity (as evidenced by his refusal to take part in official life) and was the subject of several paintings by Chen Hongshou. In one of these paintings, a scene from a handscroll titled *Episodes in the Life of Tao Qian*, the poet's pose is virtually identical to that of the woman's in the painting *Red Leaf, Inscribing Verses*. Tao sits on a Taihu rock that seems to float in space on the canvas; rather than writing instruments, his zither is laid out next to him, and he holds a sprig of chrysanthemum to his nose.<sup>64</sup>

Another reference to the "inscribing poetry on a leaf" theme can be seen on the cover of *Women Writers of Traditional China*, the anthology of women's poetry and criticism edited by Kang-i Sun Chang and Haun Saussy. It features a detail from a painting by the eighteenth-century artist Gai Qi. Even without knowing that the title of this painting is *Hong Ye* [i.e., *Red Leaf*] *Inscribing Verses*, we can recognize the allusion through the now familiar compositional elements: the Taihu rock on which her writing utensils are placed, the autumnal references in the background vegetation, and of course, most important, the red Wutong leaf she holds in her hand.

Like Chen Hongshou, Gai Qi was both a painter and an illustrator of popular literature. This similarity might account for their common application of this theme in romantic drama and painting. I have also found another example of the theme in a painting by a nineteenth-century artist who similarly straddled this divide: Ren Yi 任頤 (1840–1896), one of the “Four Rens” who were an important influence on the late nineteenth-century Shanghai school. In a painting by Ren Yi titled *Red Leaf Inscribing Verses*, the common visual elements are curtailed to the Taihu rock on which the woman writes, the autumnal vegetation, and the red leaf in her hand.

We can see a similar curtailment of the visual elements in a painting by a modern artist, Yu Jingzhi 余靜芝 (1890–?), in the National Palace Museum, Taiwan, titled *Young woman and red leaf*. This painting is one of a number of modern and contemporary paintings on the theme executed by artists specializing in traditional Chinese painting (*guohua*). As in the Qing prints discussed above, in these paintings from the nineteenth century and later, the scene is static; there is only a motionless woman and no wind or water to convey her sentiments to the outside world. In addition to paintings, the theme also appears in contemporary folk crafts, such as New Year’s paintings and paper cuts; the ephemeral nature of these materials makes it difficult to find Ming and Qing examples for comparison.

With the exception of the Tang Yin painting, all the other paintings on the theme seem to have been inspired by drama illustrations, as discussed above, in abbreviated form. Examples on ceramic decorations are much less obviously indebted to illustrations from drama. However, in at least one instance the inspiration for the image might have been the stage. A plate held by the Musée Guimet depicts a young woman writing on a red leaf as her maid looks on. The background is blank, but in the foreground there are a stool, a desk and chair, and a small table—typical stage props. Given that plays titled *Inscribing a Poem on a Red Leaf* remained a part of the repertoire of southern local dramas until well into the twentieth century, this plate thus might be based on a New Year’s print of a stage performance or on the performance itself.

## Conclusion

While the primacy of *Romance of the Western Wing* in late Imperial Chinese culture remains undisputed, the cluster of textual and visual materials discussed in this essay provides another example of the ways in which drama played a part in the circulation of images and ideals during the late Ming and beyond. Furthermore, this exploration of the ties between the dramatic and visual renditions of “inscribing a poem on a red leaf” has allowed us to better appreciate not only the late Ming fascination with women’s authentic sentiment and women’s poetry but also the variety and complexity with which women were imagined and with which artistic works

by or of women were disseminated. We can also see how this fascination changed somewhat in the Qing dynasty.

The development of the theme of “inscribing a poem on a leaf” is a story of circulation on a number of levels. The Ming narratives, poems, plays, and illustrations on the theme underline that the sentiment of the female protagonist circulates by means of poetry inscribed on a leaf and the force of wind or water, and both the poetry and the natural forces reflect the strength of her sentiment. These versions of the story, imbued with a peculiarly late Ming valorization of sentiment, were disseminated to a wider public by means of print technology. This wider circulation in turn incorporated the story into a broad complex of romantic allusions that could be called upon to evoke both the seductive lure and the subversive danger of feminine sentiment by anthologists such as Feng Menglong, Wang Jide, and Zang Maoxun; playwrights such as Tang Xianzu and Meng Chengshun; and artists such as Chen Hongshou.

As the stories spread even more broadly in the Qing, they also were assimilated in abbreviated fashion into large print collections of women’s poetry, dramatic song, and portraits of women. Accompanying this contraction of details was a corresponding loss of the subversive possibilities of which the Ming dramas were so conscious. A question still remains as to whether this was a precondition or a result, but it seems that as Lady Han and Madame Ren were historicized and turned into emblems of female beauty, their stories, as noted by Jan Stuart about the controversial *Romance of the Western Wing*, were eventually accepted as “a wholesome love story” and their image as just another pretty picture.<sup>65</sup>

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## APPENDIX

### Textual Development of “Inscribing a Poem on a Red Leaf”

#### Source Story

*Taiping Guangji* 太平廣記, “Hou Jitu” 侯繼圖. First printed 981; reprinted in two editions during the Jiajing reign period (1522–66). Feng Menglong 馮夢龍, ed. *Taiping Guangji chao* 太平廣記鈔; pub. in Tianqi 6 (1626).

*Qingsuo Gaoyi* 青瑣高議, “Record of the Drifting Leaf: Writing a poem on a Red Leaf and Marrying Lady Han” 流紅記—紅葉題詩娶韓氏. Attributed to Liu Fu 劉斧 of the Song Dynasty (act. ca. 1023–1100). Ming print edition, Zhang Mengxi 張夢錫, ed.; n.p., 1595.

#### Ming Prose Anthologies

*Tan sou* 談藪. Both stories included in discussion of Tang stories on the theme of “writing poetry on a leaf.” By Pang Yuanying 龐元英 (act. 1078–82), pub. as part of *Shuo fu* 說郛, Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀 (act. 1360–68), comp., pub. in Shunzhi 3 (1646). *Shantang si kao* 山堂肆考, “Hou Jitu.” Story appears under the title “Floating Leaf” (飄葉) in the section on Paulownia 梧桐 lore. By Peng Dayi 彭大翼; pub. 1595–1619. *Yanyi bian* 艷異編 (Yu You story); titled “Liu Hong Ji,” it appears in the “Assignations” 幽期 section in some editions, but not in others. Attributed to Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (1526–1590); pub. during the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). *Qingshi leilue* 情史類略 includes both stories. “Hou Jitu” appears in section 2, “Fated Sentiment” 卷二情緣類, and “Yu You” appears in section 12, “Matchmakers of Sentiment” 卷十二情媒類. Feng Menglong 馮夢龍, ed.; pub. after 1621.

#### Ming and Qing Poetry Anthologies

*Shi nü shi si juan liu ce* 詩女史四卷六冊. Stories about Madame Ren, leaf-writing palace women. Tian Yiheng 田藝蘅, ed.; pub. China: s.n., Ming Jiajing 36 (1558). National Library, Taipei M13797. *Tang shi lei yuan er bai juan* 唐詩類苑二百卷. Poems about leaf-writing palace women. (明) Zhang Zhixiang 張之象 ed. in *Siku quanshu cummu congshu* 四庫全書存目叢書, vol. 319, based on Wanli 29 (1602) edition preserved in the Beijing University Library. *Ming yuan shi gui* 名媛詩歸. Poems by Lady Han. Zhong Xing 鍾惺, comp.; pub. 1621–44. *Ming yuan hui shi* 名媛彙詩二十卷十冊. Poems by Lady Han and Madame Ren. Zheng Wen'ang 鄭文昂, ed.; pub. in first year of Ming Taichang era 明泰昌元年 (1620).

- Gu jin nü shi* 古今女史. Poems by Madame Ren and Lady Han, discussion of Liu Hong Ji story. Zhao Shijie 趙世杰, comp.; pub. during the Chongzhen era (1628–44) by the Wenqi ge 問奇閣 publishing house.
- Quan Tang shi* 全唐詩. Poems by Madame Ren and Lady Han. Cao Yin 曹寅 (1658–1712), comp. The Kangxi emperor ordered the compilation in April 1705; Kangxi's preface is dated May 17, 1707. Both poems appear in a section devoted to women poets.
- Li chao ming yuan shi ci shi er juan ba ce* 歷朝名媛詩詞十二卷八冊. Poems by and biographical entries for Madame Ren and Lady Han; pub. 1764. National Library, Taipei M13960.
- Gu jin ming yuan ji nang* 古今名媛璣囊. Poems by Lady Han and Madame Ren. Qian Fengji, ed.; pub. during the Qing dynasty (1644–1911). Shanghai Library 線普 371587-90.

#### *Complete Play Texts*

- Wutong Ye* 梧桐葉, "Hou Jitu" story. MS copy from *Gu ming jia* 古名家 anthology, Wanli period (1573–1620); included in Zhao Qimei's *Maiwangguan* collection.
- Wutong Ye*. *Gu zaju* 古雜劇 edition; pub. by Wang Jide 王驥德 (1542?–1623).
- Wutong Ye*. *Yuan qu xuan* 元曲選 edition; Zang Maoxun 臧懋循, comp. and ed.; pub. 1615–16.
- Ti hong ji* 題紅記, "Yu You" story. By Wang Jide 王驥德, written as early as 1561; pub. 1583 by the Jizhi zhai 繼志齋 publishing house.

#### *Excerpts in Dramatic Song Collections*

There are song sets from *Ti hong ji* in:

- Yue lu yin* 月露音, pub. in Wanli era (1573–1620). Scene 8 (eight songs); scene 15 (eight songs); scene 18 (twelve songs); scene 20 (two songs); scene 5 (four songs); scene 12 (eleven songs); scene 17 (eleven songs); scene 19 (four songs); scene 33 (eighteen songs).
- Nan bei ci guang yun xuan* 南北詞廣韻選 in *Xuxiu siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書 (Shanghai: Shanghai gu ji chubanshe, 1995–99), vol. 1742. Attributed to Xu Fuzuo 徐復祚 (1560–ca. 1629). Xu Shuofang sets date of compilation as 1617 or slightly later; see discussion in *Wan Ming qu jia nian pu*, vol. 1, p. 340. Scene 3 (eight songs); scene 27 (four songs); scene 18 (ten songs); scene 8 (seven songs); scene 10 (two songs); scene 14 (three songs); scene 17 (eleven songs); scene 12 (two songs).
- Xin ke qun yin lei xuan* 新刻群音類選 in *Xuxiu siku quanshu* vols. 1777–78. Attributed to Hu Wenhuan 胡文煥 (act. 1593). Scene 17 (eleven songs); scene 18 (eleven songs); scene 19 (four songs); scene 33 (eighteen songs).

## NOTES

- 1 The first version of this paper was written for a panel at the Association for Asian Studies 2003 annual meeting titled "Envisioning Spectacle/Spectacular Visions: Interactions between late Ming Drama and the Visual Arts." Thank you to Kathleen Ryor, organizer of the panel, for encouraging me to pursue this topic, and to Judith Zeitlin, the commentator, for her helpful critique. Thanks are also due to Joseph Chang and Sören Edgren for encouragement and advice at a crucial stage of my research. Finally, my deepest gratitude goes to my colleague Ankeney Weitz, who read and commented on several drafts of the paper. Her insightful suggestions regarding the images I discuss greatly enriched my argument.
- 2 For an English language introduction to this play and a translation of its earliest extant full edition (the Hongzhi edition of 1498), see Stephen H. West and Wilt L. Idema, eds. and trans., *The Moon and the Zither: The Story of the Western Wing* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).
- 3 For *Romance* and the Ming printing boom, see Patricia Sieber, *Theaters of Desire: Authors, Readers, and the Reproduction of Early Chinese Song-Drama 1300–2000* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); for *Romance of the Western Wing* in art see Jan Stuart, "Two birds with the wings of one: Revealing the romance in Chinese art" in *Love in Asian Art and Culture* (Washington, DC: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1998), pp. 11–29; Craig Clunas, "The West Chamber: A literary theme in Chinese porcelain decoration," in *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 46 (1981–82), pp. 69–86; and Yibin Ni, "The Shunzhi Emperor and popularity of scenes from *The Romance of the Western Wing* on porcelain," in Michael Butler, Julia B. Curtis, and Stephen Little, *Treasures from an Unknown Reign Shunzhi Porcelain 1644–1661* (Alexandria, VA: Art Services International, 2002), pp. 68–81.
- 4 For the Ming equation of the feminine with authentic sentiment, see Maram Epstein, *Competing Discourses: Orthodoxy, Authenticity, and Engendered Meaning in Late Imperial Chinese Fiction* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), pp. 61–119; for commerce and the anxiety it evoked, see Timothy Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).
- 5 "Hou Jitu 侯繼圖" in *Taiping Guangji* 太平廣記 *juan* 160 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju), p. 1153; "Liu Hong Ji 流紅記" in *Qing Suo Gao yi* 青瑣高議 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1983), pp. 51–54.
- 6 *Taiping Guangji* 太平廣記 *juan* 160, p. 1153.
- 7 *Qingsuo Gaoyi* 青瑣高議, p. 51.
- 8 *Qingsuo Gaoyi* 青瑣高議, p. 54.
- 9 Roland Altenburger, *The Sword or the Needle: The Female Knight-errant (xia) in Traditional Chinese Narrative* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2009), pp. 153–55, describes a similar renewal of interest in the theme of the Female Knight-errant subsequent to the Ming publication of Tang and Song classical story collections.
- 10 Zhang Mengxi 張夢錫 coll. (China: 1585).
- 11 Peng Dayi 彭大翼, *Shantang si kao* 山堂肆考 *juan* 210, p. 9, reprinted in *Siku quanshu congkan* (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1992).
- 12 For more on Feng, his ideas and his publishing activities see the discussions in Patrick Hanan, *The Chinese Vernacular Story* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), pp. 75–97; Shu-hui Yang, *Appropriation and*



*Representation: Feng Menglong and the Chinese Vernacular Story* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Center for Chinese Studies, 1998); and Pi-ching Hsu, *Beyond Eroticism: A Historian's Reading of Humor in Feng Menglong's Child's Folly* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2006), pp. 33–75.

- 13 Translation from Hua-yuan Li Mowry, *Chinese Love Stories from "Ch'ing-shih"* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1983), p. 12; I have substituted "sentiment" for *ch'ing*. Martin Huang also discusses Feng's advocacy of sentiment in this preface, see *Desire and Fictional Narrative in Late Imperial Drama* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), pp. 36–37.
- 14 *Qing shi lei lue* 情史類略 (Changsha: Yueli shushe, 1984), p. 54. The "red cord" refers to a marriage determined by fate and is based on a legend that the man in the moon attaches a red cord from the heel of a man to that of the woman fated to be his wife at birth.
- 15 Mowry, p. 14: "fated sentiment" is my translation of the category *qing yuan* 情緣, which Mowry translates as "conjugal affinities"; for more details, see her discussion, p. 45.
- 16 *Qingshi leilue*, pp. 332–33.
- 17 Feng's commentary on this anecdote, unlike his commentary on "Hou Jitu," is more concerned with its bibliographical history rather than its content. Feng reviews the sources and variants of the story and ends with a summary of another version in which the male protagonist is named Li Yin 李茵 and the female protagonist is a palace maid named Yun Fang 雲芳 who eventually turns out to be a ghost. He states, "This story is even more extraordinary 此說更異." Although Feng does not name the source, the story titled "Yun fang" appeared in Mei Dingzuo 梅鼎祚, *Cai gui*

*ji* 才鬼記 (n.p.: 1606); this anthology was reprinted in the 1646 collectanea *Shuofu*.

- 18 See Epstein, pp. 112–16, for an illuminating discussion on the blending of the commercial and the philosophical in *History of Emotion*.
- 19 This play has been translated into English by Cyril Birch under the title *Mistress and Maid* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001); for more on the story complex the play was based on and its connection to the late Ming cult of *qing*, see Richard G. Wang, "The Cult of Qing: Romanticism in the Late Ming Period and in the novel *Jiao Hong Ji*," *Ming Studies* 13 (August 1994), pp. 12–55.
- 20 The textual history of the *Yanyi bian* is somewhat convoluted. There are at least two different editions extant, none of which can be dated with anymore precision than some time in the Ming dynasty. There is a tradition of assigning authorship of the collection to Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (1526–1590), but this attribution seems doubtful. The edition that includes "Record of the Flowing Red (Leaf)" has the lines "Gu 古 *yanyi bian*" on its title page along with the claim that it has been "re-collated by the Anya tang 安雅堂重較" and is held in the Harvard Yenching Library. Several copies of another edition with the full title *Yuming tang zhaiping Wang Yanzhou xiansheng Yanyi bian* 玉茗堂摘評王弇州先生艷異編, which does not include the story and has different illustrations, can be found in the National Library, Beijing.
- 21 Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth Century China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994), pp. 29–69.
- 22 Tian Yiheng 田藝衡 (China, 1558) For Tian Yiheng's commitment to including women poets in the historical record, see Kang-i Sun Chang, "Ming and Qing Anthologies of Women's Poetry and Their Selection Strategies" in *Writing Women in Late Imperial China*, ed. Ellen Widmer and Kang-i Sun Chang (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), pp. 147–48.
- 23 *Shi nü shi*, *juan* 6, pp. 10a–11b; *Shi nü shi*, *juan* 9, p. 15b.
- 24 See appendix. For characterizations of these anthologies, see Kang-i Sun Chang, "Ming and Qing Anthologies of Women's Poetry," pp. 151–53.
- 25 *Complete Tang Poems* (Taipei: Hongye shuju, 1982), pp. 2244 and 2250.
- 26 See appendix.
- 27 *Quan Tang shi*, p. 2252.
- 28 Wai-ye Li, *Enchantment and Disenchantment: Love and Illusion in Chinese Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 47–50.
- 29 *Teachers of the Inner Chambers* pp. 82–84; see also Judith Zeitlin, "Shared Dreams: The Story of the Three Wives' Commentary The Peony Pavilion," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 54, no. 1 (June 1994), pp. 127–79; and Ellen Widmer, "Xiaoqing's Literary Legacy and the Place of the Woman Writer in Late Imperial China," *Late Imperial China* 13, no. 1 (June 1992) pp. 111–55.
- 30 Chen Xuyao 陳緒耀, *Xiancun Mingkan Xixiang ji zonglu* 現存明刊西廂記綜錄 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji chubanshe, 2007); Denda Akira 傳田章, *Minkan Gen zatsugeki seishō ki mokuroku* 明刊元雜劇西廂記目錄 (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Toyo Bunka Kenkyujo Fuzoku Toyogaku Bunkan Senta Iinkai, 1970).
- 31 Katherine Carlitz uses the term "competitive publishing" (p. 292) to describe this burgeoning of sumptuously produced drama anthologies during the late Ming; see "Printing as Performance: Literati Playwright-Publishers of the Late Ming" in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, ed. Cynthia J. Brokaw

- and Kai-wing Chow (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), pp. 267–303.
- 32 Our earliest sources on *zaju* drama, the *Lugui bu* (錄鬼簿 pub. ca. 1330) and the *Taihe zhengyin pu* (太和正音譜) compiled by the Ming prince Zhu Quan (1378–1448), do not mention this play title. However, the *Lugui bu* does include the title *Han Cuiping Floats a Red Leaf in the Imperial Waters* 韓翠蘋禦水流紅葉 in a list of plays attributed to Bai Pu 白樸 as well as a play titled *Golden Waters, Resentment Inscribed on a Red (Leaf)* 金水題紅怨 attributed to the playwright Li Wenwei 李文蔚. See Wang Gang, coll., *Jiaoding Lugui bu sanzong* (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1991), pp. 8, 62, for the Bai Pu play, pp. 10, 64, for the Li Wenwei play. See also Guo Yingde 郭英德 ed., *Ming Qing chuanqi zong lu* 明清傳奇綜錄 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1997), p. 230. The *Taihe zhengyin pu* also lists both plays and further reproduces three songs, all said to be from the third act of the play *Floating Red Leaf* 流紅葉 by Bai Pu. Two songs, stated to be from act 3 of Bai Renfu's *Floating Red Leaf*, "Liu qing niang" and "Dao he," appear in the *zhong lu* section. A third song, "Jiu qi er," appears in the *yue diao* section and is also stated to be from act 3 of Bai Renfu's *Floating Red Leaf*. This is clearly a mistaken attribution since it is of a different mode from the other two songs; however, it is impossible to tell whether the song belongs to another act of the same play or the third act of another play. "Liu qing niang" and "Dao he" appear as part of a song set in the *zheng gong* mode in three collections of dramatic songs published in the sixteenth century: *Shengshi xinsheng* (盛世新聲 pub. 1517), *Cilin zhaiyan* (詞林摘艷 pub. 1525), and *Yongxi yuefu* (雍熙樂府 pub. 1566). The song set preserved in these three anthologies consists of seventeen songs. In this set, the singer seems to be Lady Han, as she begins by placing herself in the imperial gardens and later describes how she had floated a leaf in the waters leaving the palace. At one point, she addresses a character, presumably her maid, who she calls Yuying (玉英).
- 33 For more on Wang's editorship of the *Gu zaju* collection, see Zheng Qian, "Yuan Ming chaoke ben Yuanren zaju jiuzhong tiyao," repr. in *Jingwu congbian* (Taipei: Zhonghua shuju, 1972), pp. 347–48. For the identification of the manuscript copy of *Wutong Leaf* found in Zhao Qimei's collection as a copy of the *Gu mingjia zaju* edition, see Sun Kaidi, *Shu Yeshiyuan jiu zang gujin zaju* 述也是園古今雜劇考 (Shanghai: Shangza chubanshe, 1953), p. 92. For a concise English-language introduction to the anthologies *Gu mingjia zaju* and *One Hundred Yuan Plays*, see Stephen H. West and Wilt L. Idema, eds. and trans., *Monks, Bandits, Lovers, and Immortals* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2010), pp. xxvii–xxx.
- 34 For an English-language translation of an early drama in which both these plot elements occur, see *A Beauty Pining in Her Boudoir: The Pavilion for Praying to the Moon* by Guan Hanqing, in *Monks, Bandits, Lovers and Immortals*, pp. 82–104.
- 35 For the connections between these two practices and a summary of their history within the poetic tradition, see Wu Chengxue 吳承學, "Lun ti bi shi—jian ji xiang guan de shi ge zhi zuo yu chuan bo xing shi 論題壁詩—兼及相關的詩歌制作與傳播形式," *Wenxue yichan*, no. 4 (1994), pp. 4–13.
- 36 *Yuan qu xuan*, p. 1232.
- 37 Ibid. This constitutes an interesting example of Zang's editing in order to assert genre identity. In the manuscript copy of the play found in Zhao Qimei's private collection, this poem is freestanding and thus resembles the poems that typically conclude scenes in *chuanqi* plays. In Zang's edition, Ren Jitu recites the poem. The final pages of the play are missing from the *Gu zaju* edition.
- 38 *Han furen tihong ji*, facsimile reproduction of the Ming Jizhizhai 明繼志齋 edition in Guben xiqu congbian weiyuanhui 古本戲曲叢刊委員會 ed., *Guben xiqu congbian er ji* 古本戲曲叢刊二集, vol. 40 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1955).
- 39 Li Huimian 李惠綿, *Wang Jide Qu hun yanjiu* 王驥德曲論研究 (Taipei: Taida wenxueyuan, 1992), pp. 86–98; Ye Changhai, *Zhongguo xijuxue shi*, pp. 259–61; for discussions of Wang Jide's edition of *Romance of the Western Wing*, see Patricia Sieber, pp. 137–47, and Jiang Xingyu 蔣星煜, *Xixiang ji de wenxianxue yanjiu* 西廂記的文獻學研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1997), pp. 156–66.
- 40 According to Xu Shuofang 徐朔方, in *Qu lu* Wang states that he based his play on a draft originally written by his grandfather; *Wan Ming qujia nianpu* 晚明曲家年譜, vol. 2 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1993), p. 255.
- 41 Xu Shuofang, *Wan Ming qujia nianpu*, vol. 2, p. 254.
- 42 "Chong jiao Tihong Ji li mu 重校題紅記例目," reprinted in Cai Yi, ed., *Zhongguo gudian xiqu xuba huibian* (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 1989), p. 1295.
- 43 Xu Shuofang, *Wan Ming qujia nianpu*, vol. 2, p. 243, lists a number of stock *chuanqi* scenes in the play.
- 44 *Record* was published a good thirty years before the plays of the *Gu zaju* collection; the illustrations to the *chuanqi* could have been the model for those to the *zaju*.

- 45 "Ti hong ji xu 題紅記敘," reprinted in *Zhongguo gudian xiqu xuba huibian*, pp. 1294–295. While he praised it in this preface, Tu Long was himself profoundly ambivalent about sentiment; see Martin Huang, *Desire and Fictional Narrative in Late Imperial Drama*, pp. 5–23.
- 46 My thinking here is influenced by Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), esp. pp. 1–20.
- 47 Xu Fuzuo 徐復祚, ed., *Nanbei ci guangyun xuan* 南北詞廣韻選, Qing manuscript copy held in Beijing library, reprinted in *Xuxiu siku quanshu jibu* 續修四庫全書集部, vol. 1742 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995); Li Yu'er 李鬱爾, ed., *Yue lu yin* 月露音 (China: Ming Wanli, 1570–1620) and Hu Wenhuan 胡文煥, ed., *Xinke qunyin leixuan* 新刻群音類選 (China: Ming dynasty, Hushi wenhui tang 明胡氏文會堂), both reprinted in *Xuxiu siku quanshu jibu*, vols. 1777–778.
- 48 Catherine Swatek, *Peony Pavilion on Stage* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, the University of Michigan, 2002), ch. 4, p. 324, n. 7.
- 49 The excerpts from the two acts and their accompanying illustrations appear separately in the anthology; act 18 actually appears earlier than act 17.
- 50 Copies held in the Harvard-Yenching Library and the Capital Library in Beijing have only the one illustration. However, two copies in the National Library, Beijing (one with colophons by Wang Licheng, one with colophons by Zheng Zhenduo) have five illustrations.
- 51 Robert Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), p. 207.
- 52 Scene 10 of *Mudanting* (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1984), p. 44; Cyril Birch, trans., *The Peony Pavilion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), p. 46.
- 53 The story is the last of what Cyril Birch dubs the "Thirteen Signposts of Romance" in the play; see *Mistress and Maid*, p. xxvii.
- 54 Katherine Carlitz, "Desire, Danger, and the Body," in *Engendering China*, ed. Christina K. Gilmartin, Gail Hershatter, Lisa Rofel, and Tyrene White (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), p. 122.
- 55 Cf. Carlitz, "Desire, Danger and the Body," p. 122. I have consulted microfilms of the texts found in the Harvard-Yenching Library, and National Central Library, Taipei. The text found in the Harvard-Yenching Library has a different set of illustrations; the sixteen prints in the National Central Library text include images of women sewing, weaving, and engaging in sericulture as well heroines from history and literature; see, e.g., the print of Wang Zhaojun published in Kimberly Besio, "Gender, Loyalty, and the Reproduction of the Wang Zhaojun Legend: Some Social Ramifications of Drama in the Late Ming," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 40, no. 2 (1997), p. 267.
- 56 Wu Hong, "Beyond Stereotypes: The Twelve Beauties in Qing Court Art and 'Dream of the Red Chamber'" in *Writing Women in Late Imperial China*, pp. 306–65.
- 57 Various dates are given for Wu; these follow Michael Sullivan, *Art and Artists of Twentieth-Century China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), p. 318.
- 58 Painting held by the Freer Gallery of Art, F1917.335. Many thanks to Joseph Chang, former associate curator of Chinese art, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, for this reference.
- 59 Wang Juzheng was a Northern Song painter whose dates are unknown. He was known for his paintings of beautiful women in the style of Zhou Fang 周昉. Two paintings attributed to Wang are still extant: *The Spinning Wheel* (Fang che tu 紡車圖) held in the Gugong Bowuyuan (China), and a fan painting titled *Teasing a parrot in the boudoir* (Xuanguai tiaoying tu 璇閨調鸚圖) held in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Zhao Luxiang 趙祿祥, ed., *Zhongguo Meishujia da cidian* 中國美術家大辭典 (Beijing, China: Beijing Publishing House, 2007), p. 128.
- 60 James Cahill, *The Compelling Image: Nature and Style in Seventeenth-Century Chinese Painting* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), p. 140.
- 61 Zhou Xinhui 周心慧, *Zhongguo gu banhua tongshi* 中國古版畫通史 (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2000), pp. 209–14.
- 62 Chen was a close friend of the author of *Jiaohong ji*, Meng Chengshun, and also wrote commentary on Meng's plays that were included in two anthologies of Yuan and Ming *zaju* drama, also edited by Meng, collectively titled *Famous plays old and new* (Gujin mingju hexuan 古今名劇合選).
- 63 Tamara Heimarck Bentley, "Authenticity and the Expanding Market in Chen Hongshou's Seventeenth-Century Printed Playing Cards," *Artibus Asiae* 69, no. 1 (2009), pp. 147–52.
- 64 This handscroll, dated 1650, is held by the Honolulu Academy of Arts. See *The Compelling Image*, pp. 134–40, for this image as well as a discussion of the significance of Tao to Chen.
- 65 "Two birds with the wings of one," pp. 22–24.





## MEDIA TRANSFER AND MODULAR CONSTRUCTION

*The Printing of Lotus Sutra Frontispieces in Song China*

### Abstract

The appropriation, transformation, and exchange of images between Chinese printmaking and painting marks a new chapter in Song 宋 (960–1279) visual culture studies. The earliest extant *Lotus Sutra* frontispiece prints associated with Song Hangzhou offer excellent visual examples for a reevaluation of this new phenomenon from the perspective of media transfer and modular construction. Frontispiece artisans created standard templates and modular motifs in order to mass-produce illustrated prints. While some of the motifs derived from earlier pictorial conventions, others were new inventions that had a lasting impact on East Asian visual culture beyond time, place, and religion. This article responds to the broader discourse surrounding imagery transformation in the Tang–Song transition, the aesthetic dimensions of mass production, and the interrelationship between *tu* 圖 (graphics) and *hua* 畫 (painting) in Chinese visual culture.

THE TENTH TO THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY saw the proliferation of illustrated woodblock printing in China. These printed images are among the earliest examples of what we now refer to as *banhua* 版畫 or “woodblock print paintings”—mass-produced painterly images printed from woodcuts, which were in turn based on pictorial designs that resemble paintings. The media transfer from painting to printing and the convergence of printmaking and picture-making thus marks a new and significant chapter in the study of Chinese visual culture that is worthy of further investigation.<sup>1</sup>

Making a printed product look like a painting requires not only a painterly design but also a series of complex technical processes. These include the carving of the woodblock and the tedious procedure of preparing the ink, which together result in the final printed products, most of which were on paper. The multitude of illustrations accompanying Song Buddhist texts suggests the use of a standard repertoire of templates and motifs. This notion of “pictorial modules” can be compared to “the interchangeable building blocks” that were “put together in varying combinations,” a classic concept eloquently proposed by Lothar Ledderose in his series of studies on Chinese art.<sup>2</sup> According to Ledderose, by the thirteenth century, motifs and figural types from religious set paintings (*taohua* 套畫), such as those of the *Ten Kings of Hells* (*Shiawang tu* 十王圖) manufactured by Ningbo 寧波 workshop painters, were demonstrating “interchangeable formulas” or “the modular structure” used in the Chinese script system, casting of ancient bronze ritual vessels, and factory-line porcelain manufacture.<sup>3</sup> Like the workshop paintings, the Buddhist illustrations printed during the Song demonstrate a similar modular system and standard repertoire. It is likely that such works, though they do not always

survive in multiple copies, were originally produced in large numbers by teams of artisans who were constantly reassembling and recycling motifs and compositional schemes to create new images.

Previous scholarship has identified Buddhism as the major stimulating force behind the development of Chinese woodblock prints during the Tang 唐 (618–907), Five Dynasties (907–960), Song (960–1279), Khitan Liao 遼 (907–1125), Jurchen Jin 金 (1115–1234), and Tangut Xi Xia 西夏 (1038–1227) periods. Furthermore, the technology of printing, which guaranteed the accuracy of replicating texts, provided Buddhism with a new means for transmitting knowledge that was more authentic and efficient than hand-copied manuscripts.<sup>4</sup> As first noted by the book collector Ye Mengde 葉夢得 (1077–1148), prints made in Hangzhou 杭州 at that time demonstrated superior quality.<sup>5</sup> Ye's evaluation remains valid for the abundant extant Buddhist illustrated prints dating from the tenth to the thirteenth century. Modern scholars of early printing in Hangzhou, such as Jan Fontein, Sören Edgren, Su Bai 宿白, Miya Tsugio 宮次男, and Cui Wei 崔魏, have offered a solid point of departure for my current inquiry.<sup>6</sup> Their studies resulted in a substantial bibliography of printed books produced in Hangzhou; established the complex relationship between different versions of the same Buddhist texts; documented the network of itinerant carvers, printers, and publishers; and called attention to the artistic quality of some Buddhist pictorial prints.<sup>7</sup>

One notable genre of Buddhist illustrated prints associated with Hangzhou during the Song period is represented by the multivolume sets of frontispieces (*feihua* 扉畫) accompanying the text of the *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經, or the *Lotus Sutra*.<sup>8</sup> It should be noted that this represented the first occasion a frontispiece—i.e., a square or elongated pictorial composition placed before the opening of a religious text—was used to illustrate the *Lotus Sutra*.<sup>9</sup> The content often features figural depictions, such as Buddha preaching to the audience, and narrative scenes directly or indirectly related to the text that follows.<sup>10</sup> The format of the Buddhist frontispiece is unique and reflects the domestication of Buddhist visual culture during the Tang–Song transition. The format also served as a prototype for later Daoist frontispieces.<sup>11</sup>

While previous scholarship of Song *Lotus Sutra* frontispieces compared multiple versions and was preoccupied with finding the correlation between the illustrations and the accompanying texts, certain issues related to the relationship between printing and painting deserve further examination. Among the most intriguing are the issues of media transfer and modular construction. This study will explore these two crucial elements underpinning the painterly practice in Song Buddhist prints, especially the *Lotus Sutra* frontispieces associated with Hangzhou. It is divided into three parts. To establish a historical framework, the first part discusses the gen-



eral perception of the printed image in Song visual culture. Primary textual sources suggest that there was a growing practice of borrowing from paintings for prints, which were intended for a wider audience beyond Song China. Parts 2 and 3 are case studies of the exquisite Buddhist frontispieces of the *Lotus Sutra* produced in Hangzhou during the Northern Song (960–1126) and Southern Song (1127–1279) respectively. I will identify select pictorial motifs and compositional templates in the modularly constructed frontispieces. While some motifs were connected to earlier pictorial conventions in other media, such as painting, others may have been invented by the artisans who designed the frontispieces. All of these became part of the legacy of printing in Song Hangzhou that influenced later visual cultures and moved beyond the visibility of the *Lotus Sutra*.

### Media Transfer from Painting to Printing

Copying and borrowing from painting in printmaking caught the attention of art connoisseurs in Northern Song China. In the late eleventh century, many scholars who were personally involved in making and collecting art documented this activity in their writing, paying special attention to prints copied from high-quality paintings by well-known masters. Mi Fu 米芾 (1051–1107) recorded that a “certain scholar” (*shiren* 士人) who owned a Tang dynasty copy of the *Lienu tu* 列女圖 (*Wise and Virtuous Women*) handscroll by Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 (active 344–405) had it copied for a woodblock-printed edition, which was then used to decorate a new standing screen.<sup>12</sup> The opening of the eleventh-century illustrated book *Xinkan gu lienu zhuan* 新刊古列女傳 (*Newly Printed Biographies of Virtuous Women from Ancient Times*), reprinted by the Qian'an 建安 publisher Yu Renzhong 余仁仲, listed Liu Xiang 劉向 (77–6 BCE) as the compiler of the text and Gu Kaizhi as the illustrator, although the printed illustrations minimally reflect Gu's painting style.<sup>13</sup>

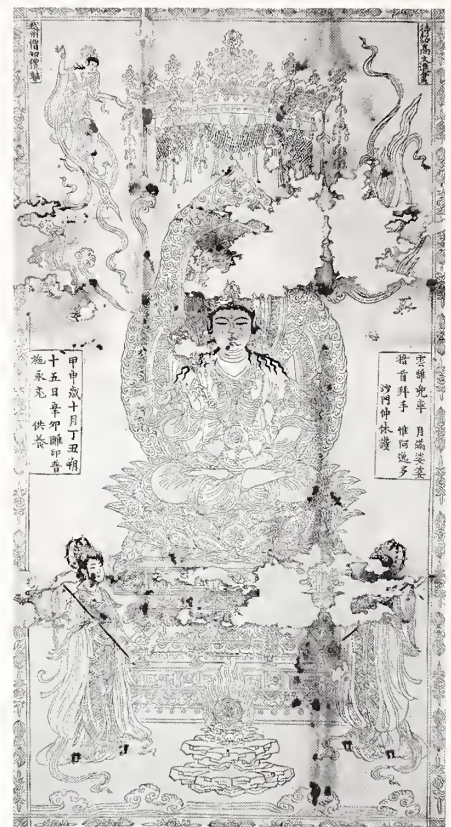
Mi Fu's contemporary Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101) was amazed at the quality of a certain type of *yinban shuizhi* 印版水紙 (water-patterned printed paper), which was used mainly for interior decoration on walls to symbolically extinguish fire and keep it away from the house.<sup>14</sup> In a colophon he wrote in 1080 on the water painting by his friend Pu Yongsheng 蒲永昇, Su confessed that the liveliness of the water image he saw on the water-patterned printed paper compared favorably with the first-rate water paintings by masters of the past and present.<sup>15</sup>

Even contemporary Song paintings from scholarly circles were made into prints for religious purposes. As Chen Shidao 陳師道 (1053–1102) recalled, the elite Datong chanshi 大通禪師 (Chan Master Datong; died in 1108), who was befriended by many well-known Northern Song scholars, once made printed copies from Li Gonglin's 李公麟 (1049–1106) painting of the Guanyin 觀音 Bodhisattva and “distributed [the prints] for free among scholars (*yishi xuezhe* 以施



1

1  
*Four Beauties*, Jin dynasty (1115–1234). Woodblock print on paper; overall 79 x 34 cm, framed 90.5 x 42 cm. The State Hermitage Museum.



2

2  
*Maitreya Bodhisattva*, illustrated by Gao Wenjin, dated 984 (Northern Song dynasty). Woodblock print on paper; 54.4 x 28.4 cm. Seiryōji, Kyoto. After Higashi Ajia no hotoketachi, p. 125.

學者).<sup>16</sup> It is likely that the mass-produced Guanyin prints distributed by Master Datong ended up in either domestic residences or temples. The eleventh-century monk and writer Wenying 文瑩 recorded a single-sheet printed Guanyin mounted as a hanging scroll and hung (*xuan guanyin yinxiang yizhou* 懸觀音印像一軸) in the Beichan jingshi 北禪經室 (Northern Chan Buddhist Scriptural Studio) in Changsha 長沙, Hunan 湖南 province.<sup>17</sup> From the perspective of display, it is possible that the Guanyin print was designed to mimic a hanging scroll so it would be suitable for “hanging” (*xuan* 懸). Although Wenying’s record does not specify its format, it is likely that it imitates select tenth- to twelfth-century single-sheet prints discovered in the Dunhuang library cave, Liao Buddhist pagoda, and among the documents in Khara Khoto (Heishuicheng 黑水城), an archaeological site in Inner Mongolia.<sup>18</sup> A good example is the Jin dynasty (1115–1234) print known as the *Four Beauties* (fig. 1), printed by the Ji family of Pingyang (Pingyang Ji jia diaoyin 平陽姬家彫印), Shanxi, and discovered in Khara Khoto.<sup>19</sup> Although most reproductions fail to show this, the Pingyang print is in vertical format, with darkened sections in the upper and lower areas beyond the ornamental border of the central pictorial scene. The darkened sections resemble the brocade that frames the upper and lower parts of a hanging scroll painting.

The Guanyin print in the Scriptural Studio also calls to mind the oft-cited print of the *Maitreya Bodhisattva* designed by the Northern Song court painter Gao Wenjin 高文進 (active 950–after 1022), now in the collection of the Seiryōji 清涼寺, Kyoto (fig. 2).<sup>20</sup> A colophon on the left dates it to 984 and stresses that the purpose of printing was “for universal distribution, and to be used perpetually as an offering,” suggesting that the print was mass-produced.<sup>21</sup> As Heping Liu noted,



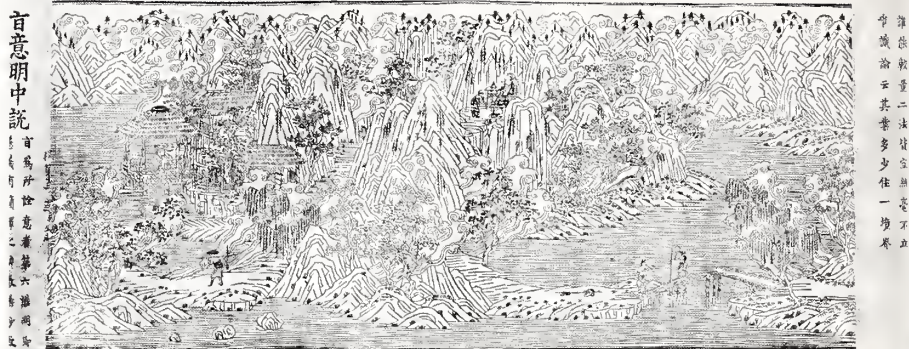
3

3  
Japanese copy of the Northern Song  
*Six Patriarchs of the Bodhidharma*  
Sect, 13th century. Drawing mounted  
as a hanging scroll, ink on paper;  
100.4 x 579 cm. Kōzanji, Kyoto.

the painterly design of the Seiryōji *Maitreya* may be related to a now-lost votive painting by Gao Wenjin originally kept in a private Buddhist chapel at court in honor of Empress Liu (969–1033, reigned 1022–33 as empress dowager regent).<sup>22</sup> Although the Seiryōji *Maitreya* was deposited inside the wooden Buddha statue after the Japanese monk Chōnen 裔然 acquired it in China (where he was based between 983 and 986),<sup>23</sup> we may well imagine that other copies derived from the same block might have been displayed as hanging scrolls at temple altars or domestic residences, like the Guanyin print in the Scriptural Studio in Changsha.<sup>24</sup>

If properly stored, the same woodblock can last for a long time and can be used to produce multiple reprints. In 1073, the Japanese monk Jōjin 成尋 (1011–1081) visited the Northern Song capital Bianjing 汴京 (modern Kaifeng 開封) with his assistant monks. There, they borrowed the *Wubai luohan moyin* 五百羅漢模印 (*Five Hundred Arhats woodblocks*) and the *Damo liuzu mo* 達摩六祖模 (*woodblocks of the Six Chan Patriarchs of Bodhidharma Sect*) commissioned by the government and preserved in the Chuanfa yuan 傳法院 (Institute for Propagation of the Tripitaka) repository in conjunction with the Buddhist Monastery Taiping xingguo si 太平興國寺 (Monastery of the Great Peace and Prosperous State); their goal was to print more copies on paper.<sup>25</sup> A thirteenth-century Japanese ink drawing (fig. 3) deriving from a Song print may give us a hint of what Jōjin saw in Kaifeng.<sup>26</sup> Titled the *Six Patriarchs of the Bodhidharma Sect*, it was said to be based on the *Six Chan Patriarchs* print Jōjin acquired in China.<sup>27</sup> Although he stayed in China until he passed away, he had the printed copies delivered to Japan as soon as they were made.<sup>28</sup>





4

4

The fourth woodcut in *Yuzhi mizangquan*, chapter 13. Printed in 1108 (Northern Song dynasty) based on the 10th-century edition. Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museum, Cambridge, MA. After Max Loehr, *Chinese Landscape Woodcuts: From an Imperial Commentary to the Tenth-Century Printed Edition of the Buddhist Canon* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1968), fig. 4.

Illustrated prints were produced not only in Buddhist monasteries but also at the imperial court. Literary records show that Song emperors supported the mass-production of prints copied from court paintings. This was especially clear in three large printing projects during the Northern Song<sup>29</sup> in which illustrations of didactic and historical themes were made to educate the young Emperor Renzong 仁宗 (reigned 1023–63). Leading court artist Gao Keming 高克明 and others illustrated three lengthy texts composed by court officials.<sup>30</sup> These illustrations were carved onto blocks and the printed versions distributed to Renzong's closest officers and family members. Commentators of the time marveled at the illustrations in one particular project, *Sanchao baoxun* 三朝寶訓 (*Illustrated Instructive Mirror of the Three Courts*), noting the comprehensive layout of palace buildings, landscape settings, imperial carriages and guards, and the minute executions of human figures, which were “less than one inch tall” (*renwu caiji cunyu* 人物纔及寸餘).<sup>31</sup>

Even Emperor Renzong may have been involved in the painting-to-printing efforts. Sometime before 1052, he painted the healing bodhisattva Longshu pusa 龍樹菩薩 (Nāgārjuna) after he learned that his Aunt Xianmu 獻穆 was going blind. Renzong ordered a *daizhao* 待詔 (painter-in-attendance) to copy his painting and make a woodblock-printed version for distribution.<sup>32</sup>

Although none of these prints survive, the four extant printed illustrations of the 1108 reprint of the *Yuzhi mizangquan* 御製秘藏詮 (Imperialy Composed Explanation of the Secret Treasure; referred to as the *Mizangquan* hereafter), originally commissioned by Emperor Taizang 太宗 (reigned 976–97) (fig. 4),<sup>33</sup> now in the Fogg Art Museum at Harvard University, attest to the sophisticated level of the Northern Song imperial prints and their close ties to painting. The extant prints reflect a small portion of the original project, which may have contained fifty illustrations.<sup>34</sup> According to Chen Yuquan 陳昱全, their designs adopt landscape-painting conventions popular in the transitional period between the Tang dynasty and the tenth century; stylistically, they reflect a now-lost print originally made by the court in the late tenth century.<sup>35</sup> It is likely that leading court painters first drafted exquisite and complex pictorial designs, and the imperial printing office later transferred those designs to woodblock prints.<sup>36</sup>

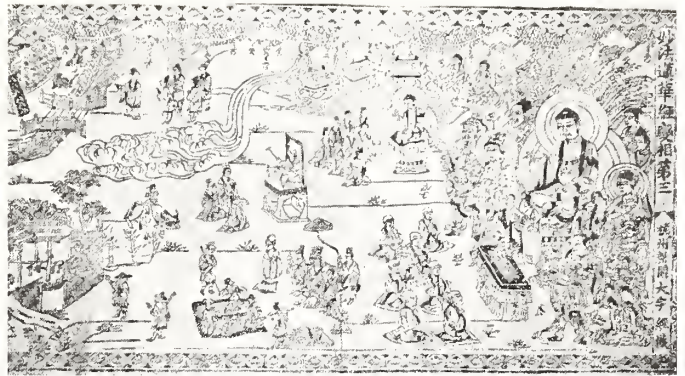
### Reshaping the Art of the *Lotus Sutra* in Northern Song Frontispieces

Among the extant Song illustrated prints are some of the earliest *Lotus Sutra* frontispieces (figs. 5, 6) excavated from the Song pagoda in Xinxian 莘縣, Shandong



5

5  
The fourth frontispiece of the *Lotus Sutra*, printed by the Qian Family, Hangzhou, dated 1060. Woodblock print on paper. Discovered in a Song pagoda in Xinxian, Shandong province. After Cui Wei, "Shandong sheng Xinxian Songta chutu Bei Song fojing."



6

6  
The third frontispiece of the *Lotus Sutra*, printed by the Yan Family, Hangzhou, dated 1069. Woodblock print on paper. Discovered in a Song pagoda in Xinxian, Shandong province. After Cui Wei, "Shandong sheng Xinxian Songta chutu Bei Song fojing."



7

Frontispiece of the *Diamond Sutra* scroll, dated 868 (Tang dynasty). Woodblock print on paper; 23.7 x 28.5 cm. British Library Or.8210/P.2. © The British Library Board.

山東, and dated to the 1160s.<sup>37</sup> Inscriptions on the prints indicate that they were published by the Qian family (Qian jia 錢家) (fig. 5) and the Yan family (Yan jia 晏家) (fig. 6) in Hangzhou, two of the early non-government publishers in Chinese printing history.<sup>38</sup>

The Qian and Yan frontispieces reshaped the art of the *Lotus Sutra*. Departing from the earlier visual convention reflected in the large-scale murals or *biauxiang* 變相 (paintings of the sutra tableaux) crowding the cave temples in Dunhuang,<sup>39</sup> the frontispieces suggest the more private experience of reading a Buddhist text, whose earliest printed format was the handscroll, which was sometimes folded like a book. Furthermore, their composition derives from the earlier convention, as reflected in the 868 *Diamond Sutra* frontispiece (fig. 7) originally discovered in the Dunhuang library cave and now in the British Library.<sup>40</sup> In a palatial setting paved with square floral tiles, the seated Buddha is flanked by his attendants in front of an elongated table. Turning his face toward the lower left, the Buddha preaches to a kneeling monk crawling on a mattress in the foreground. This generic Buddha-preaching scene forms a basic template for later frontispiece designs.<sup>41</sup> The Hangzhou *Lotus Sutra* frontispieces depict not only the *Diamond Sutra*'s preaching scene on the right but also a variety of narrative scenes. These narrative elements were not seen in the tenth-century Dunhuang frontispiece drawings<sup>42</sup> but were featured in multiple versions of the *Dharani Sutra* frontispieces commissioned by Qian Shu 錢俶 (929–988), the king of Wuyue 吳越, and discovered in the twentieth century in the Leifeng 雷峰 Pagoda, Hangzhou, and other sites such as Huzhou 湖州 and Shaoxing 紹興, not too far from Hangzhou.<sup>43</sup> It is thus likely that these *Dharani* frontispieces associated with the Wuyue royal patronage may have been local predecessors of the Northern Song frontispieces published in Hangzhou.

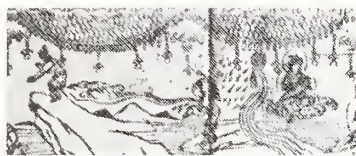
### Decorative Motifs

Some of the decorative motifs in the Northern Song frontispieces reflect the Hangzhou tradition. For example, a series of repeated fringed and tasseled curtains made of net textiles and pearl-like pendants appear at the upper border of most of the extant frontispieces published by the Qian and the Yan families, dated 1060, 1063, and 1069 respectively (figs. 8a–b). They are further comparable to the *Dharani* frontispieces (dated 975) excavated from the Leifeng Pagoda<sup>44</sup> and the tenth-century hand-painted version of the *Lotus Sutra* frontispiece (fig. 8c) excavated from the Ruiguang 瑞光 Pagoda in Suzhou (fig. 9), possibly a Hangzhou product as well.<sup>45</sup>





8A



8B



8C



9



10A



10B

#### 8A-C

Curtain motifs: (a) Detail, fourth frontispiece of the *Lotus Sutra*, printed by the Qian family, Hangzhou, dated 1060. (b) Detail, seventh frontispiece of the *Lotus Sutra*, printed by the Qian family, Hangzhou, dated 1063. (c) Detail, frontispiece of the *Dharani* scroll, dated 975; woodblock print on paper; excavated from Leifengta, Hangzhou. National Palace Museum, Taiwan.

#### 9

Frontispiece of the *Lotus Sutra*, 10th century (?). Drawing in gold pigment on blue paper. Discovered in the Ruiguang Pagoda, Suzhou. After *Huqiu Yunyan sita Ruiguang sita wenwu*, ed. Suzhou bowuguan (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2006), pp. 162-63.

#### 10A-B

Botanical motifs: (a) Detail, fourth frontispiece of the *Lotus Sutra*, printed by the Qian family, Hangzhou, dated 1060. (b) Detail, third frontispiece of the *Lotus Sutra*, printed by the Yan family, Hangzhou, dated 1069.

Another recurring decorative pattern repeated in these Hangzhou frontispieces is a cluster of leafy botanical branches sticking out of the Buddha's seat as "stage props" (figs. 10a-b). Because these decorative motifs are not seen in the extant frontispieces produced in northwestern China (such as Dunhuang, Gansu province) or northern China (such as the Khitan Liao kingdom) during the tenth and eleventh centuries,<sup>46</sup> it is likely that they too reflect a local decorative convention shared by the designers working in the Hangzhou network.

The tasseled curtains and clusters of leafy branches can be seen as "stock motifs" used repeatedly by the designers or carvers of the Northern Song Hangzhou frontispieces. Their longevity is manifested in a seven-volume illustrated set of the *Lotus Sutra* dated to the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) (figs. 11a-b).<sup>47</sup> The upper borders of the fifth (fig. 11a), sixth, and seventh frontispieces are all decorated with wavy curtain designs, with minute tassels hanging at the lower borders.<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, the Buddha-preaching scene depicted in the third frontispiece of the Ming set (fig. 11b) preserves the motif of the botanical clusters seen in the Northern Song version.

Similar visual features are reflected in a twelfth-century Korean painted frontispiece (fig. 12) in the collection of the Danzan Jinja 談山神社, Nara 奈良.<sup>49</sup> The upper border is decorated with similar arch-shaped curtains with net patterns and sashes. Executed in gold ink on indigo paper, it resembles the tenth-century Ruiguang Pagoda frontispiece (fig. 9). This frontispiece, however, places the Buddha-preaching scene in the center front, reflecting the more archaic template seen in Tang murals in Dunhuang Mogao caves. It is possible that the Danzan Jinja frontispiece is a Goryeo (918-1392) copy whose original design is linked to a Hangzhou frontispiece.





11A



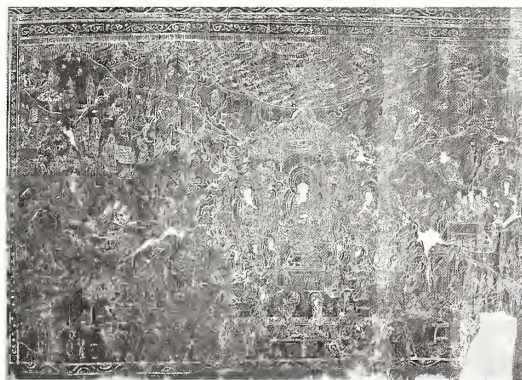
11B

#### 11A-B

Frontispiece drawings from the *Lotus Sutra* based on the Northern Song Hangzhou prototype, Ming dynasty (1368–1644). Folding booklet, silver on blue paper; 26 x 54.3 cm. National Palace Museum, Taiwan. (a) Detail, fifth frontispiece of the *Lotus Sutra*. (b) Third frontispiece of the *Lotus Sutra*.

#### 12

Frontispiece drawing, 12th century (Goryeo dynasty, 918–1392), Korea. Gold ink on indigo paper. Danzan Jinja, Nara. After Julia Meech-Pekarik and Pratapaditya Pal, *Buddhist Book Illuminations* (New York: Ravi Kumar Publisher, 1988), pp. 262–63.



12

### The Drum-striking Motif

Select pictorial motifs within the narrative illustrations had a continuous impact on later works of the *Lotus Sutra* outside China, though examples had existed outside the *Lotus Sutra* tradition before the Song. For example, an intriguing motif in the fourth frontispiece (fig. 5) of the set published in 1060 by the Qian family shows a figure striking a drum on a stand (fig. 13a). This motif refers to the tale about a king who renounced his throne by striking the drum and then sought out Buddhist teachings.<sup>50</sup> It may have served as the inspiration for a similar motif in the Ming hand-painted set (fig. 13b)<sup>51</sup> as well as for the Goryeo frontispiece of the *Lotus Sutra* (1325) painted in gold (fig. 13c),<sup>52</sup> although their overall compositions are different from that of the Northern Song print.

The drum-striking theme in the Northern Song *Lotus Sutra* repertoire closely resembles the *Goddess of the Luo River* handscroll in the Palace Museum, Beijing (fig. 13d).<sup>53</sup> In this famous handscroll, the figure striking the drum represents the mythological river god Feng Yi 馮夷, and the scene refers directly to the poetic text *Luoshen fu* 洛神賦 (*Goddess of the Luo River*) composed by Cao Zhi 曹植 (192–232).<sup>54</sup> Based on the style, previous researchers such as Chen Pao-chen and Shih Shou-chien date this painting to the early twelfth century and consider it a copy produced at the court of Emperor Huizong 徽宗 (reigned 1100–25).<sup>55</sup> Nevertheless, the drum-striking motif may be derived from Gu Kaizhi's original and thus may be linked to an even earlier pictorial convention.





13A



13C



13B



13D



13E

## 13A-E

Drum-striking motifs: (a) Detail, fourth frontispiece of the *Lotus Sutra*, printed by the Qian family, Hangzhou, dated 1060. Woodblock print on paper. Discovered in a Song pagoda in Xinxian, Shandong province. After Cui Wei, “Shandong sheng Xinxian Songta chutu Bei Song fojing.” (b) Detail, fourth frontispiece of the *Lotus Sutra*, Ming dynasty (1368–1644). Folding booklet, silver on blue paper; 26 x 54.3 cm. National Palace Museum, Taiwan. (c) Detail, fourth frontispiece of the *Lotus Sutra*, 1325 (Goryeo dynasty), Korea. Folding booklet, gold on blue paper; 29.1 x 11 cm. Hagaji, Fukui. (d) Detail, *Goddess of the Luo River*, Northern Song dynasty, attributed to Gu Kaizhi (act. 344–405). Handscroll, color and ink on silk; 27.1 x 572.8 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing. (e) Ceramic tile, Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE). 48 x 28.5 cm. Excavated in Pengxian, Sichuan.

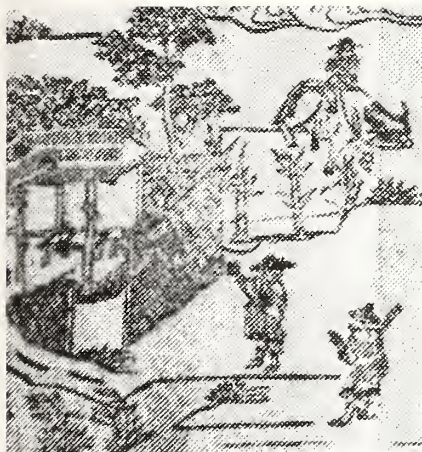
Indeed, the earliest extant example of this pictorial module is a Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE) tile from Pengxian 彭縣, Sichuan 四川 (fig. 13e).<sup>56</sup> The tile depicts a male figure, perhaps a ritual master, wearing a long robe and a ceremonial cap, striking a drum that is supported on a pole outside a building covered with a rooftop. Pictorial designs on Han clay tiles exemplify the early stage of modular production and workshop practice,<sup>57</sup> which anticipates printmaking in later times. The pictorial connection linking this Han tile, the *Goddess of the Luo River* handscroll, and the Northern Song printed frontispiece suggests an underexplored connection between early clay tiles, paintings, and woodblock prints.

### The Ox Rider and the Fenced Hut

On the left of the third frontispiece of the 1069 Yan family version (fig. 6), a narrative scene depicting an ox rider and two walking farmers returning to a fenced hut (fig. 14a) suggests a further connection between printing and painting. It makes references to the fifth episode of the “yaocao yu pin” 藥草喻品 (parable of the medicinal herbs), which compares the Buddha’s preaching to the great moisture-laden clouds that bring the beneficent rain to nurture plants, grasses, and all sentient beings on earth.<sup>58</sup> The specific details of the ox rider and the farmers returning to a fenced country house surrounded by lush trees and grasses are not described in the text, and thus can be viewed as the frontispiece designer’s visual interpretation.<sup>59</sup> It is possible that the designer used these motifs to reflect the contentment associated with an agricultural lifestyle blessed by the Buddha’s preaching. The two farmers standing in front of the fence wear wraps and hats, suggesting the nurturing rain evoked by the Buddha.

A later copy of this narrative scene in the third frontispiece of the Ming painted version (figs. 11b, 14b) vividly captures the meticulous details that are difficult to scrutinize in the Northern Song print (figs. 6, 14a).<sup>60</sup> The detail from the Ming painting may reflect a modular motif that became available to the *Lotus Sutra* frontispiece designers in the eleventh century. Through the fence, the viewer can see a hut with no walls, only a roof. A kettle is placed on a table near a bench. Two farmers wearing hats and raincoats made of rushes are conversing outside the fence. A little further away, another farmer riding on the ox is coming around the corner. The overall scene depicted in this Ming painting is similar to the Northern Song print.

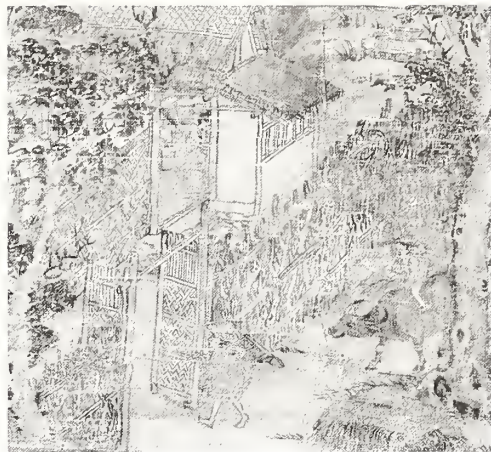
The set motif of an ox rider and a fenced hut may derive from a tenth-century painting convention reflected in the famous yet much debated *Xiàn tu* 溪岸圖



14A



14B



14C

14A-C  
Ox rider and fenced hut motifs:  
(a) Detail, third frontispiece of the *Lotus Sutra*, printed by the Yan family, Hangzhou, dated 1069. Woodblock print on paper. Discovered in a Song pagoda in Xinxian, Shandong province. After Cui Wei, "Shandong sheng Xinxian Songta chutu Bei Song fojing" (b) Detail, third frontispiece of the *Lotus Sutra*, Ming dynasty (1368–1644). Folding booklet, silver on blue paper; 26 x 54.3 cm. National Palace Museum, Taiwan. (c) Detail, *Riverbank*, attributed to Dong Yuan. 10th century. After Maxwell Hearn et al., *Along the Riverbank: Chinese Paintings from the C. C. Wang Family Collection* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999), cover 2.

(*Riverbank*), attributed to Dong Yuan 董源 (active 930s–60s), dated by Shou-chien Shih to the tenth century.<sup>61</sup> In this masterfully executed misty landscape, a "returning home scene," a buffalo rider and a barefoot farmer in raincoats made from rushes proceed toward the entrance of the fenced dwelling (fig. 14c).<sup>62</sup> This is similar to the 1069 Yan family frontispiece (fig. 14a). Here, however, the buffalo, a farmer, and a fenced residence are paired with servants, women, and children. Together, they represent the domestic life of the hermit overlooking the water in a pavilion.<sup>63</sup>

In sum, the ox rider returning to the fenced hut, like the drum-striking motif, may reflect an archaic convention that originated in early pictorial art and was adopted by the Northern Song Buddhist printmaking culture. Thanks to the mass production and wide circulation of the *Lotus Sutra* frontispieces, this template was later revived in the Ming frontispiece drawing.<sup>64</sup>

### The Liao Counterpart

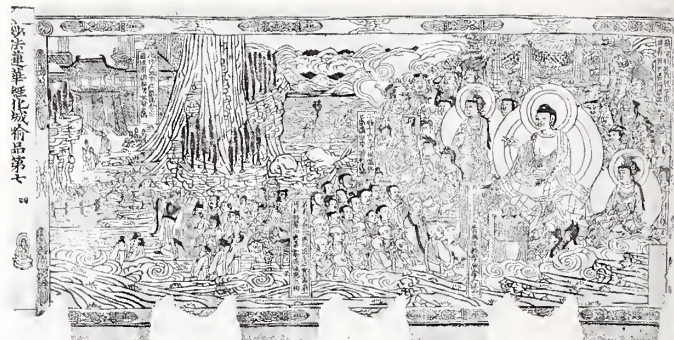
The local features of the Northern Song Hangzhou frontispieces become more clear when compared to those produced in North China during the rule of the Khitan Liao (907–1125).<sup>65</sup> Take the extant *Lotus Sutra* frontispieces (figs. 15a–b) excavated from the Buddhist statue on the fourth level of the mid-eleventh-century Timber Pagoda at Fogong si 佛宮寺 (Monastery of the Buddhist Palace), Yingxian 應縣, Shanxi 山西 province.<sup>66</sup> Originally designed as a set of eight volumes, its format is different from the seven-volume set from Northern Song Hangzhou.<sup>67</sup> The four complete extant frontispieces from multiple copies of the eight-volume *Lotus Sutra* may have been printed by the Feng family (Feng jia 馮家) in Yanjing 燕京 (modern Beijing) in the early eleventh century and sealed up in the statue between 1110 and 1125.<sup>68</sup>

The Liao depiction of the "parable of the medicinal herbs" (fig. 16)<sup>69</sup> in the third-volume frontispiece (fig. 15a) is not comparable to the "ox rider returning home" scene illustrated in the 1069 Yan family edition (fig. 14a). It highlights the mythological rainmakers in the sky: a dragon, a thunder god striking wheeled drums, and a wind god releasing the wind, who fly amid the swirling clouds that cover the plants and trees on the earth below. This points out the possible regional differences between frontispiece prints in eleventh-century China, particularly with landscape elements. In the Yan and the Qian family prints, there is little reference to landscape beyond the depiction of a mound (fig. 5), the sparse horizontal





15A



15B

#### 15A–B

The third (a) and seventh (b) frontispieces of the *Lotus Sutra*, Liao dynasty (907–1125). Woodblock print on paper; 24.7 x 53 cm (a), 24.1 x 50.8 cm (b). Excavated in the mid-11th-century Timber Pagoda of the Fogongsi, Yingxian, Shanxi province. After *Yingxian muta Liaodai micang*, ed. Shanxi sheng wenwu ju et al. (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991).



16

Detail, third frontispiece of the *Lotus Sutra*, Liao dynasty (907–1125). Woodblock print on paper. Excavated in the mid-11th-century Timber Pagoda of the Fogongsi, Yingxian, Shanxi province. After *Yingxian muta Liaodai micang*, ed. Shanxi sheng wenwu ju et al. (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991).

linear rendition of the ground, and small clusters of grass and plants (figs. 5–6).<sup>70</sup> However, landscape plays a dominant role in the Liao versions (figs. 15a–b). The vertical rock formation and the plateaus where tall trees grow (fig. 15b) recall the tenth-century portable landscape painting discovered in the Yemaotai 葉茂台 tomb, Liaoning province (fig. 17).<sup>71</sup> It also resembles the overwhelmingly rocky mountains and vertical cliffs featured in the 1108 *Mizangquan* (fig. 4), which may derive from a tenth-century version.<sup>72</sup>

#### The Xi Xia Connection

Though the designers of the Northern Song Hangzhou prints and the Liao versions adopted different templates, archaeological finds beyond Hangzhou suggest that the circulation of the Song Hangzhou prints may extend to the Xia 夏 kingdom ruled by the Tangut (or Dangxiang 黨項) people from 1038 to 1227. Traditionally referred to as the Xi Xia 西夏 in Chinese sources, this was a “multi-ethnic kingdom with a Tangut core” and “Chinese, Uighur, Tibetan, and Turkic communities.”<sup>73</sup> Its hybrid, Sino-Tibetan-inspired religious visual culture is reflected in the vast amount of Buddhist woodblock-print frontispieces excavated in Khara Khoto.<sup>74</sup> According to Anne Saliceti-Collins, the Xi Xia state sought the Northern Song copies of the Buddhist canon six times from the 1030s to the 1070s.<sup>75</sup> In addition, Chinese monks<sup>76</sup> and carvers<sup>77</sup> working for the translation bureau and printing projects sponsored by Xi Xia rulers played crucial roles in transmitting Song Buddhist printmaking culture to the Xi Xia state.

A great visual example attesting to the Song–Xi Xia connection is the little-studied *Lotus Sutra* frontispiece (TK 167) bearing the colophon of the Yan family publisher that was discovered in Khara Khoto (fig. 18).<sup>78</sup> It features the twenty-fifth episode of the *Lotus Sutra*, “Guanshiyin pusa pumen pin” 觀世音菩薩普門品.<sup>79</sup> On the right border, an incomplete colophon reads “Large-character Guanyin [episode] reprinted by the Yan family from Hangzhou” (*Hangzhou Yanjia chong-kai dazi Guanyin* 杭州晏家重開大字觀音).<sup>80</sup> The Guanyin bodhisattva is seated at the center and framed by rock formations that imitate the profiles of birds with pointed beaks.<sup>81</sup> Depicted in the upper right corner is a thunderstorm, represented by a thunder god striking the circle of chained drums and a bag-like object releasing wind and rain. Below this scene is a man encountering a snake. To the left of Guanyin, a figure standing on an overhanging cliff is a reference to a story about an evildoer who pushed people off the mountain. The overall composition is very similar to the seventh vignette depicted in the 1069 frontispiece published by the Yan family and discovered in the Song pagoda in Shandong.<sup>82</sup>





17  
A Chess Party in the Mountains, 10th century. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk; 106.5 x 54 cm. Excavated from a tomb at Yemaotai, Shandong province. Liaoning Provincial Museum.



18  
Frontispiece (TK 167) published by the Yan family of Hangzhou, 11th century (Northern Song dynasty). Woodblock print on paper. Discovered in Khara Khoto. After *Echang Heishuicheng wenxian*, ed. Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1996–2000), vol. 4, TK 167.



19  
Detail, frontispiece of the *Sutra of the Peacock King* (Mahāmāyūrividyārājñī), Xi Xia dynasty (1038–1227). Woodblock print on paper. Discovered in Khara Khoto. After *Lost Empire of the Silk Road: Buddhist Art from Khara Khoto (X–XIIIth century)*, ed. Mikhail Piotrovsky (Milan: Electa, 1993), p. 269, pl. 82, TANG 61, Inventory No. 1.

A closer examination of the Buddhist frontispieces produced under the Xi Xia rule helps us to further evaluate the Song Hangzhou–Xi Xia connection. One example discovered in Khara Khoto is a Xi Xia frontispiece accompanying the printed *Sutra of the Peacock King* (Mahāmāyūrividyārājñī) (TANG 61) carved in Tangut characters (fig. 19).<sup>83</sup> The frontispiece depicts a multi-armed icon flanked by a cluster of leaves behind its halo. Because these leaves resemble those seen in the Northern Song Hangzhou frontispieces (figs. 10a–b), it is possible to assume that carvers and illustrators working for the Xi Xia kingdom had direct access to Song Hangzhou Buddhist prints.<sup>84</sup>

### Modular Examples in the Southern Song Frontispieces

Previous scholarship of Southern Song Hangzhou prints has called attention to several seven-volume sets of the illustrated *Lotus Sutra* whose texts are carved in large characters (*dazi ben* 大字本). These include the Rikkoku-an 栗棘庵 version and two versions in the Taipei Palace Museum. The Rikkoku-an version was carved by the block-carver Chen Zhong 陳忠 (active 1146–64) and his fellow carvers,<sup>85</sup> and one of the Taipei versions was carved by Qin Meng 秦孟 and Bian Ren 邊仁. The other Taipei version (figs. 20a–e) does not include the carvers' information but does bear the name of a little-known illustrator, Wang Yi 王儀 (fig. 20f).<sup>86</sup> Scholars have suggested that Chen Zhong, Qin Meng, and Bian Ren as well as the carvers who worked with them were teammates active in Hangzhou and the neighboring Ningbo area in the mid-twelfth century.<sup>87</sup> While no identifiable patrons are associated with the Wang Yi edition, the repeated imagery of two monks (fig. 20g) at the lower-left corner of each frontispiece suggests a possible monastic patronage.<sup>88</sup> When examined as a whole, the compositional scheme and pictorial repertoire of the Southern Song Hangzhou frontispieces can be seen to have a lasting impact on Buddhist frontispieces produced in the Xi Xia Kingdom, Yuan China, and Goryeo Korea.





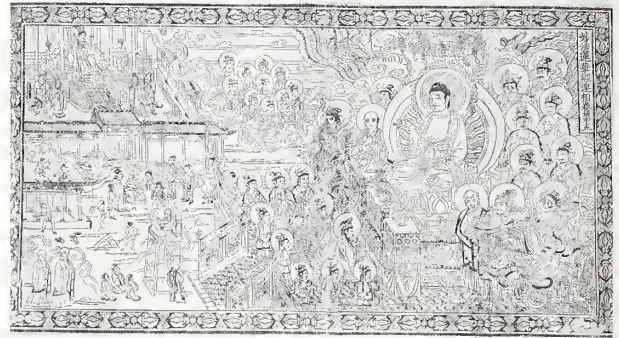
20A



20B



20C



20D



20E



20F



20G

#### 20A-G

Frontispieces from the *Lotus Sutra*, Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279), designed by Wang Yi. Woodblock prints on paper; 31.4 x 59.5 cm (each). (a) First frontispiece. (b) Second frontispiece. (c) Fourth frontispiece. (d) Fifth frontispiece. (e) Seventh frontispiece. (f) Detail, seventh frontispiece. (g) Detail, first frontispiece. National Palace Museum, Taiwan.

#### Jiehua Elements

Compared to their Northern Song counterparts, the Southern Song frontispieces (figs. 20a–e) show further standardization, evident in more identifiable modular motifs that are repeatedly employed throughout seven pieces within the same set. Unlike the artisans associated with the Liao frontispieces (figs. 15a–b) and the Northern Song *Mizangquan* (fig. 4), the Southern Song frontispiece designers in Hangzhou downplayed landscape elements. Instead, they favored manmade architectural motifs, such as buildings with bracketing clusters under their roofs, ornamented terraces with balustrades, and couch/bed furniture pieces whose attached screens are imbedded with picturelike or calligraphic “imagery within an image.”

Take the Wang Yi edition. The generic scene of the Buddha preaching now takes up a larger space; the elaborate balustrades framing his entourage extend to occupy almost three of the four folding panels that constitute each frontispiece. Within this standardized format, the seven frontispieces deploy a variety of decorative patterns to furnish the balustrades, ranging from floral (fig. 21a) to geometric to honey-





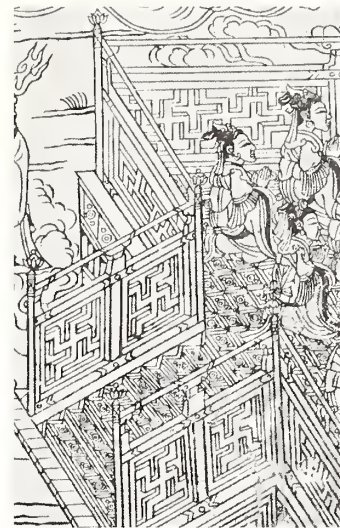
21A



21B



21C



21D

#### 21A-D

Balustrade designs from the frontispieces of the *Lotus Sutra*, Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279), designed by Wang Yi. Woodblock prints on paper. (a) Detail, first frontispiece. (b) Detail, fourth frontispiece. (c) Detail, fifth frontispiece. (d) Detail, seventh frontispiece. National Palace Museum, Taiwan.

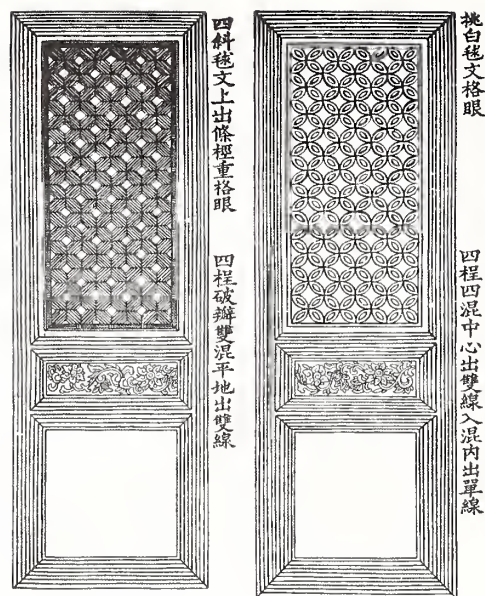
combs (fig. 21b) to phoenixes (fig. 21c) to meandering water (*qu shui* 曲水) (fig. 21d).<sup>89</sup> These patterns are similar to those widely cited in Song *jiehua* 界畫 (ruler-lined painting) conventions,<sup>90</sup> such as the architectural templates of doors and windows (fig. 22a), balustrades (fig. 22b), and ceilings (fig. 22c) illustrated in the 1103 treatise on architecture titled *Yingzao fashi* 營造法式.<sup>91</sup> Compiled by Li Jie 李誡 (1035–1110) under the reigns of Emperors Zhezong 哲宗 (reigned 1085–1100) and Huizong, this artistic architecture manual was not only beneficial to builders and carpenters but also to painters and illustrators, who translated the technical nuances of manmade things into the rich visual vocabulary that constitutes the *jie-hua* tradition.

#### Furniture Designs

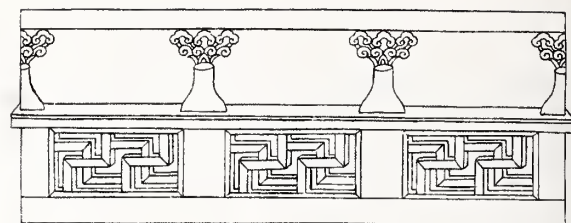
Southern Song designers also creatively incorporated furniture designs into Buddhist frontispiece prints. This is evident in a variety of screened couch designs.<sup>92</sup> One such modular motif features a couch/bed, as illustrated in the first and fourth frontispieces (figs. 20a, 20c, 23a–b).<sup>93</sup> In the first one, a narrative scene depicts what appears to be an artist's studio (fig. 23a). On a screened couch/bed, a man dressed like a scholar or official is painting. Holding a brush in his hand, he adds touches to a hanging scroll depicting a seated Buddha, which is mounted on a supporting panel and rests against the screen. Painted images of rocks and plants are partially revealed on the screen. A side table beside the couch/bed displays a miniature screen decorated with mock cursive-script calligraphy, and cups of pigments—very likely the painter's utensils.

This scene is comparable to the scholar's studio depicted in the Northern Song album leaf *Scholar*, dated to the early twelfth century, in the National Palace Museum, Taipei (fig. 24).<sup>94</sup> A scholar is seated on a couch/bed that has been placed before a screen painting of reeds and waterfowl, painterly motifs favored by the Song literati.<sup>95</sup> A nicely mounted hanging scroll hangs on the screen and shows a lifelike portrait of the scholar. More books are displayed on the side table to the right, forming a direct connection to the Southern Song print.

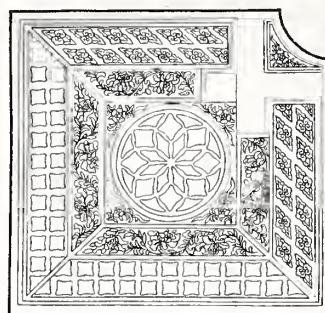
A painted image sharing a similar modular motif appears at the upper-left corner of the fourth frontispiece (figs. 20c, 23b). This indoor scene depicts a figure



22A



22B



22C

#### 22A-C

Design templates from *Yingzao fashi*, Northern Song dynasty (960–1126), compiled by Li Jie 李誡 (1035–1110). Woodblock prints on paper. (a) Doors. (b) Balustrade. (c) Ceiling.



23A



23B

#### 23A-B

Couch/bed with painted screen motifs, Southern Song dynasty (1126–1279), designed by Wang Yi. Woodblock prints on paper. (a) Detail, first frontispiece of the *Lotus Sutra*. (b) Detail, fourth frontispiece of the *Lotus Sutra*. National Palace Museum, Taiwan.

lying on a couch/bed flanked by bamboo paintings mounted on two horizontal screens. It refers to the parable of a drunken man who lies down to sleep, unaware that his friend has tied a priceless jewel to the back of his robe.<sup>96</sup> A similar motif is depicted in the Southern Song court painting titled *Odes of the State of Pin* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 25).<sup>97</sup>

Another type of furniture design features a seated monk or lay Buddhist preaching on a stand for a screened couch, i.e., a screen on top of a couch raised on four legs. The screen is decorated with intricately painted bamboo or mock cursive-script calligraphy (figs. 26a–c). It is likely that once such a modular design was established in local practice in Hangzhou, it was also transmitted to Xi Xia, as reflected in the 1196 Xi Xia frontispiece of the *Avatamsaka Sutra* (*Huayan jing* 華嚴經) (TK 98) discovered in Khara Khoto (figs. 27a–b).<sup>98</sup>

#### The Hut Motif

In the second frontispiece of the Wang Yi edition, the motif of a dome-shaped hut is illustrated near the center left (fig. 20b); outside the hut stand three figures conversing (fig. 28a). The hut and the figures illustrate *Xinjie pin* 信解品 (Belief and understanding), the story of a poor son who gave up the support of his wealthy father and lived alone in a poor village.<sup>99</sup> Two of the figures outside the hut are the attendants sent by the wealthy father to his son, who is shown facing them.<sup>100</sup> The hut motif may derive from the earlier prototypes seen in ninth- to tenth-century Dunhuang murals, in which the son is shown lying in a dome-shaped hut inside the horse ranch where he worked for his father.<sup>101</sup> What makes the Wang Yi edition different from the earlier murals is that the hut is presented without the ranch but with meticulously drawn straw and details of furniture.

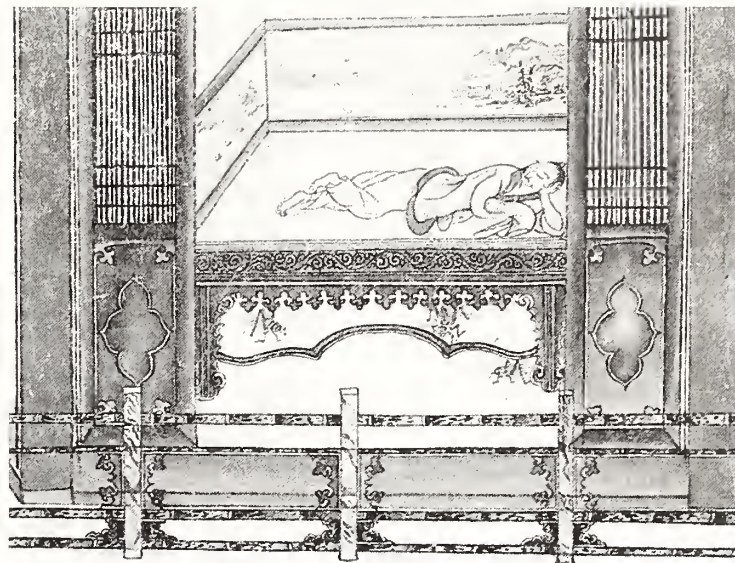
The design of the hut and the placement of the furniture and figures recall the Northern Song *Mizangquan* illustrations (fig. 28b).<sup>102</sup> The knob attached to the top of the hut, the multiple layers of straw on the hut, the arch-shaped entrance, and the furniture inside are found in the Wang Yi edition. Even the way that the figures are positioned is similar. In the *Mizangquan*, a layman and a monk stand outside the





24

24  
Detail, *Scholar*, early 12th century  
(Northern Song dynasty). Album  
leaf, ink and color on silk; 29 x  
27.8 cm. National Palace Museum,  
Taiwan.



25

25  
Detail, *Odes of the State of Pin:*  
*The Seventh Month*, 13th century  
(Southern Song dynasty). Handscroll,  
ink on paper; 29.7 x 1371 cm.  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art,  
John M. Crawford, Jr., Collection,  
Gift of the Dillon Fund, 1982  
(1982.459). After Wen C. Fong,  
*Beyond Representation* (New York:  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art,  
1992), p. 222, pl. 30a.

hut. The layman's gesture suggests that he is paying tribute to an older monk seated on a chair inside. In the Wang Yi frontispiece, the two monks and the layman are replaced by the two attendants the king sends to his son; the humble display of a bed and a table are partially revealed through the open entrance.

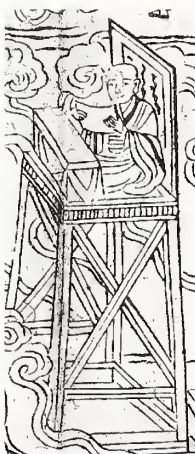
This set of motifs became the standard "iconography" for telling the story of the poor son in later Hangzhou frontispiece prints and Korean paintings accompanying the *Lotus Sutra*.<sup>103</sup> It is interesting to see how the hut motif was employed by illustrators in both religious and secular narrative scenes. In the Xi Xia-printed *Maitreya Sutra* frontispiece (1189), the motif has been revised into a small vignette that shows a lay person paying tribute to a Buddhist practitioner clothed in religious garments and seated inside a hut.<sup>104</sup> A similar motif is recycled in the fourth frontispiece of the Ming dynasty *Lotus Sutra*.<sup>105</sup> In the fourteenth-century illustrated fictional work *Xin quanxiang sanguo zhi pinghua* 新全相三國志平話 (*Plain Tale from the Chronicle of the Three Kingdoms*), published by the Yu family (Yushi 虞氏) Wuben tang 務本堂 (Studio of Cultivating the Fundamental) in Jian'an, Fujian 福建,<sup>106</sup> the hut motif is featured on the cover page (fig. 28c), a reference to the often-cited story of Liu Bei's 劉備 three visits to the hut of Zhu Geliang 諸葛亮 (*sangu maolu* 三顧茅廬).

### *The Construction Scene*

Another modular motif that has had a long-lasting impact on East Asian art is the construction scene depicted at the lower-left corner of the fifth frontispiece in the Wang Yi edition (figs. 20d, 29a). This scene refers to the seventeenth episode in the fifth chapter, in which the Buddha compares the merit of cherishing and studying the *Lotus Sutra* to building quarters for monks.<sup>107</sup> In what appears to be a depiction of "lodging making," two crouching workers put roof tiles in place one by one. Another worker standing on the right passes a load of bricks with a rope to the workers on the roof while one at the front of the building is about to throw a brick up to a colleague.

The vivid depiction of workers at the construction site was so successful that it became part of the stock repertoire of the fifth frontispiece of the printed *Lotus Sutra*





26A



26B



26C



27A



27B

#### 26A–C

Screened couch furniture designs from the frontispieces of the *Lotus Sutra*, Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279), designed by Wang Yi. Woodblock prints on paper.

(a) Detail, fourth frontispiece. (b) Detail, fifth frontispiece. (c) Detail, sixth frontispiece. National Palace Museum, Taiwan.

#### 27A–B

Couch/bed design motifs; details of the frontispiece of the *Avatamsaka Sutra*, TK98, 1196, Xi Xia dynasty. Woodblock print on paper. Saint Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences. After Ecang Heishuicheng wenxian, ed., *Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan et al.* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1996–2000), vol. 2, TK98, pp. 360–61.

in several Yuan dynasty (1279–1368) editions produced in Hangzhou as well as many Goryeo sutra frontispiece paintings dated to the fourteenth century. Among the often-cited Goryeo examples is the 1315 sutra frontispiece in the Tenrinji 天倫寺 collection, Matsue City 松江市, Japan.<sup>108</sup> In a later version commissioned by Prince Ik-an between 1400 and 1404, now in the collection of the National Museum of Korea (D2466),<sup>109</sup> the workers delivering a load of rocks have been moved from the right to the front of the building. This early fifteenth-century Korean design may be a direct prototype for the entertaining scene of carpenters in the album known as the *Genre Paintings by Danwon* 檀園 by the eighteenth-century Joseon painter Kim Hong-do 金弘道 (circa 1745–1815), also in the National Museum of Korea (fig. 29b).<sup>110</sup> This album shows the artist's humorous depictions of ordinary people, such as villagers wrestling, farmers threshing rice, schoolboys in class, women doing laundry along the river, and so on. One album leaf depicts construction workers placing tiles on a roof, which clearly borrows the modular motif and the figural types from the Southern Song Hangzhou frontispiece (fig. 29a).

### Conclusion

The exchange of images between painting and printmaking marks a new chapter in the cultural history of the Tang–Song transition. On the one hand, painting had been advancing for hundreds of years by the time illustrated prints came into vogue in the tenth century. It is only natural that printmakers borrowed visual conventions from painting. On the other hand, the efficiency that printing brought to the mass production of images may have provided a conceptual and methodological stimulus to painters. The extant *Lotus Sutra* frontispiece prints associated with



28A



28B



28C

# 28A-C

Hut motifs: (a) Detail, second frontispiece of the *Lotus Sutra*, Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279), designed by Wang Yi. Woodblock print on paper. National Palace Museum, Taiwan.

(b) Detail, first woodcut in *Yuzhi mizangquan*, chapter 13, printed in 1108 (Northern Song dynasty) based on the 10th-century edition. Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museum, Cambridge, MA. After Max Loehr, *Chinese Landscape Woodcuts: From an Imperial Commentary to the Tenth-Century Printed Edition of the Buddhist Canon* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1968), fig. 1.

(c) Detail, cover page of *Xin quanxiang sanguo zhi pinghua*, 14th century (Yuan dynasty), published by the Yu family's Wuben tang in Jian'an, Fujian. Woodblock print on paper.

Hangzhou during the Northern and Southern Song periods are among the best examples. As this article aims to demonstrate, artisans employed more and more recyclable modular motifs to compose their prints. While some of these motifs derive from earlier pictorial traditions in Chinese art, others were created in the Song and had a lasting impact on art beyond the Hangzhou locale and Buddhist practitioners.

The eleventh-century Hangzhou frontispieces represent some of the earliest extant prints published by non-government publishers. Decorative motifs, such as the tasseled curtains framing the upper borders and the clusters of leafy branches flanking the preaching Buddha, speak to a local Hangzhou tradition inherited from the Wuyue period in the tenth century. They are thus different from their contemporary counterparts associated with the Liao Kingdom or the Northern Song court. Two specific motifs are particularly comparable to earlier pictorial conventions outside Hangzhou. In the first instance, the drum-striking motif in the Qian family frontispiece bears a striking resemblance to *Goddess of the Luo River* attributed to the Eastern Jin painter Gu Kaizhi as well as to a carved image in a Han dynasty ceramic tile that originally decorated a tomb in Sichuan. Second, the depiction of an ox rider returning to a fenced hut in the Yan family frontispiece recalls Dong Yuan's *Riverbank*. While these motifs do not appear in the Southern Song *Lotus Sutra* frontispieces associated with Hangzhou, they do emerge in later frontispiece drawings, such as those associated with Goryeo Korea and Ming China.

During the Southern Song period, the *Lotus Sutra* frontispieces in Hangzhou obtained a higher level of standardization. Though no specific publisher can be identified, suffice it to say, carvers worked as itinerant artisans. One exquisite example is the set bearing the name of the little-known illustrator Wang Yi. Like other Southern Song Hangzhou frontispieces, the Wang Yi set is noted for recurring modular motifs. The overall design indicates strong interests in architectural patterns or manmade objects—pictorial elements that constitute the basic visual vocabulary of the so-called *jiehua* paintings, such as balustrades and terraces filled with floral or geometric patterns and couches accompanied by screens decorated with pictorial or calligraphic decorations. This suggests that artisans were familiar with and shared standard templates with each other and with carpenters and builders.

The legacy of the *Lotus Sutra* frontispiece prints produced in Southern Song Hangzhou extends beyond Buddhism and bridges religious and secular visual culture. The hut motif, for example, which is traceable to the Northern Song *Mizangquan*, became Zhu Geliang's residence on the title page of a fourteenth-cen-





29A



29B

29A-B

Construction scene motifs: (a) Detail, fifth frontispiece of the *Lotus Sutra*, Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279), designed by Wang Yi. Woodblock print on paper. National Palace Museum, Taiwan. (b) Detail, *Genre Paintings by Danwon*, 18th century (Joseon dynasty), Korea, by Kim Hong-do (1745–1815). Album leaf, ink and color on paper. National Museum of Korea.

tury popular work of fiction celebrating the heroic stories of the Three Kingdoms. More unexpectedly, the construction scene that represents the accumulation of merits by building cells for monks was creatively adopted in an eighteenth-century Korean genre painting. This was likely based on pre-eighteenth-century Korean frontispiece drawings copied from Chinese examples, which were in turn based on Southern Song Hangzhou versions. This further demonstrates the mutual borrowing of imagery between printing and painting: while Song illustrated prints appropriated painting motifs, they also offered a new visual paradigm for later painting in a cross-cultural context. Seen in this way, it is likely that what may seem to be a new modular system in twelfth- to thirteenth-century Ningbo workshop paintings may in fact have been inspired by or related to the modular construction of Song woodblock prints, such as those being produced in eleventh- to twelfth-century Hangzhou.

There are not many extant frontispieces from Song Hangzhou. But the multitude of printed frontispieces produced under Xi Xia rule may provide additional visual sources for tracing Song Hangzhou printmaking culture. Preliminary comparative study suggests that Xi Xia Buddhist frontispieces share some notable modular motifs with those from Song Hangzhou. The Xi Xia and Song Hangzhou connection is further supported by the Northern Song Hangzhou Buddhist print discovered among the Xi Xia ruins in Khara Khoto.

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## NOTES

I would like to thank David Brody, James Clifton, Lucille Chia, Patricia Ebrey, and two anonymous reviewers for reading earlier versions of this article and offering invaluable comments and suggestions. I am also grateful for Andrew Taylor's professional assistance in preparing for the illustrations.

- 1 For selected studies on the relationship of painting and woodblock printing in seventeenth-century China, see Ma Meng-ching 馬孟晶, "Yiwei yu banhua yu huihua zhijian: Zhizhuzhai shuhuapu de duochong xing'ge" 依違於版畫與繪畫之間: 十竹齋書畫譜的多重性格, *Gugong xueshu jikan* 故宮學術季刊 18, no. 1 (2000), pp. 109–49; and "Linking Poetry, Painting, and Prints: The Mode of Poetic Pictures in Late-Ming Illustrations to 'The Story of the Western Wing,'" *International Journal of Asian Studies* 5, no. 1 (2008), pp. 1–51. Lin Li-chiang, "The Proliferation of Images: The Ink-stick Designs and the Printing of the *Fang-shih mo-p'u* and the *Ch'eng-shih mo-yuan*" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1998); and "Ming Paintings and Prints: Possible Source for Kano Sansetsu's *Chōgonka* Scrolls," in Shane McCausland and Matthew Philip McKelway, eds., *Chinese Romance from a Japanese Brush: Kano Sansetsu's (1590–1651) Chōgonka Scrolls in the Chester Beatty Library* (London: Scala Publishers Ltd., 2009), pp. 151–63. J. P. Park, "Ensnaring the Public Eye: Painting Manuals of Late Ming China and the Negotiation of Taste," (PhD diss., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 2007).
- 2 Lothar Ledderose, *Ten Thousand Things: Module and Mass Production in Chinese Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), p. 16.
- 3 Ledderose, *Ten Thousand Things*, esp. p. 163; "A King of Hell," in *Chūgoku*

*kaigashū ronshū: Suzuki Kei sensei kanreki kinen* 中國繪畫史論集: 鈴木敬先生還曆記念 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1981), pp. 31–42; "Kings of Hell," in *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan guoji hanxue huiyi lunwenji: Yishushi zu* 中央研究院國際漢學會議論文集: 藝術組 (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1981), pp. 191–219; and "Module and Mass Production," in *Zhonghua minguo jianguo bashinian Zhongguo yishu wenwu taolunhui lunwenji* 中華民國建國八十年中國藝術文物討論會論文集, vol. 2, Painting and Calligraphy (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowu yuan, 1991), pp. 821–47. Some of the principles underlining the workshop practice of the Song Ningbo Buddhist paintings, such as recycling standardized designs to compose different pictures, can be found in ninth- to tenth-century Dunhuang Buddhist painting. This is evident in Sarah Fraser's study of extant sketches and selected comparable murals from the Mogao cave temples; see Sarah Fraser, *Performing the Visual: The Practice of Buddhist Wall Painting in China and Central Asia, 618–960* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003). For more on the Buddhist paintings made by the Song Ningbo workshop artists, see Wen Fong, *The Lohans and a Bridge to Heaven* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1958). Ide Seinosuke 井手誠之輔, "Riku Shintyū kō: Nehan hyōgen no henyō" 陸信忠考: 涅槃表現の變容, *Bijutsu kenkyū* 美術研究, vol. 354 (1992), pp. 19–34; vol. 355 (1993), pp. 28–40. Ide, *Nihon no Sōgen butsuga* 日本の宋元仏画, *Nihon no bijutsu* 日本の美術, vol. 418 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 2001). Ide, "Daitokuji denrai Gohyaku Rakanzu shiron" 大徳寺伝来五百羅漢図試論, in *Nihon Bukkyō 1300-nen no genryū: subete wa koko kara yatte kita* 聖地寧波: 日本仏教1300年の源流: すべてはここ

- からやって来た (Nara: Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 2009), pp. 254–59.
- 4 I would like to thank the anonymous reviewer for his or her input.
  - 5 Ye Mengde 葉夢得 (1077–1148), *Shilin yanyu* 石林燕語 8, 6b.
  - 6 Jan Fontein, *The Pilgrimage of Sudhana: A Study of Gandavyūha Illustrations in China, Japan and Java* (Paris: Mouton, 1967). Sören Edgren, “Southern Song Printing at Hangzhou,” *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 61 (1989), pp. 3–204. Miya Tsugio 宮次男, “Sō-Gen hampon ni miru Hokkekyō-e, (Jō), (Ge)” 宋元版本にみる法華經繪 (上), (下), *Bijutsu kenkyū* 美術研究, vol. 325 (September 1983), pp. 25–35; vol. 326 (December 1983), pp. 17–32. Su Bai 宿白, *Tang-Song shiqi de diaoban yinshua* 唐宋時期的雕版印刷 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1999). Cui Wei 崔魏, “Shandong sheng Xinxian Songta chutu Bei Song fojing” 山東省莘縣宋塔出土北宋佛經, *Wenwu* 文物, no. 12 (1982), pp. 39–42.
  - 7 For more studies on Tang–Song printing, see Lucille Chia and Hilde de Weerd, eds., *Knowledge and Text Production in an Age of Print: China, 900–1400*, (Leiden: Brill, 2011). Katherine Tsiang, “Buddhist Printed Images and Texts of the Eighth–Tenth Centuries: Typologies of Replication and Representation,” in *Esoteric Buddhism at Dunhuang: Rites and Teachings for This Life and Beyond*, ed. Matthew T. Kapstein and Sam van Schaik (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 201–52. Max Loehr, *Chinese Landscape Woodcuts: From an Imperial Commentary to the Tenth-Century Printed Edition of the Buddhist Canon* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1968). Egami Yasuhide 江上綏 and Kobayashi Hiromitsu 小林宏光, *Nanzenji shozō “Hizōsen” no mokuhan* 南禪寺所藏「秘藏詮」の木版畫 (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1994). Chen Yuquan 陳昱全, “Beisong Yuzhi mizang quan banhua yanjiu” 北宋《御製秘藏詮》版畫研究 (MA thesis, Taipei: NTNU, 2008). Sören Edgren, “Printed Dharani-Sutra of A.D. 956,” *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 44 (1972), pp. 141–52. Nakamura Kikunosume 中村菊之進, “Sō Fukushūhan daizōkyō kō” 宋福州版大藏經考, *Mikyō bunka* 密教文化, vol. 152 (1985), pp. 20–40; vol. 153 (1985), pp. 36–59; vol. 154 (1985), pp. 23–50. Michel Strickmann, “The Seal of the Law: A Ritual Implement and the Origins of Printing,” *Asia Major* 3d ser., vol. 6, no. 2 (1993), pp. 1–81. Timothy H. Barrett, “The Feng-tao kō and Printing on Paper in 7th-century China,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 60 (1997), pp. 538–40; and *The Woman Who Discovered Printing* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008). Jean-Pierre Drège, “De l’icône à l’anecdote : les frontispices imprimés en Chine à l’époque des Song (960–1278),” *Arts Asiatiques* 54 (1999), pp. 44–65; and “Du texte à l’image: les manuscrits illustrés,” in *Images de Dunhuang: Dessins et peintures sur papier des fonds Pelliot et Stein*, ed. Jean-Pierre Drège (Paris: École française d’Extrême-Orient, 1999), pp. 105–68. Li Jining 李際寧, *Fojing banben* 佛經版本 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 2002). Anne Saliceti-Collins, “Xi Xia Buddhist Woodblock Prints Excavated in Khara Khoto: A Case Study of Transculturation in East Asia, Eleventh–Thirteenth Centuries” (MA thesis, University of Washington, 2007). *Naraken shozai chūgoku kohankyō chōsa hōkokusho* 奈良県所在中国古版經調查報告書, ed. Naraken Kyōiku iinkai 奈良県教育委員会 (Nara: Naraken kyōiku iinkai, 2001). Shih-shan Susan Huang, “Tianzhu lingqian: Divination Prints from a Buddhist Temple in Song Hangzhou,” *Artibus Asiae* 67, no. 2 (2007), pp. 243–96.
  - 8 Miya, “Sō-Gen hampon ni miru Hokkekyō-e.” For an informative catalogue, see *Miaofa lianhua jing tulu* 妙法蓮華經 (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1995). For translations of the sutra, see Leon Hurvitz, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976); and Burton Watson, *The Lotus Sutra* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).
  - 9 Cf. the pre-Song art of the *Lotus Sutra* in Eugene Y. Wang, *Shaping the Lotus Sutra: Buddhist Visual Culture in Medieval China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005); He Shizhe 賀世哲, ed., *Fahua jing hua Juan* 法華經畫卷, (Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1999).
  - 10 Julia Murray defines the sutra frontispiece as “a picture” that “served as a pious embellishment for a sacred text and brought merit upon its sponsor” and describes two kinds: the generic type, which shows “the Buddha preaching to assembled beings,” and the synoptic type, which includes “pictorial allusions to many of the sutra’s” stories, “in addition to the image of the preaching Buddha.” See Julia Murray, “The Evolution of Buddhist Narrative Illustration in China after 850,” in *Latter Days of the Law: Images of Chinese Buddhism, 850–1850*, ed. Marsha Weidner (Lawrence: Spencer Museum of Art; University of Hawai’i Press, 1994), pp. 136–37. For more on Buddhist frontispieces, especially the tenth-century drawings from the Dunhuang library cave, see Drège, “Du texte à l’image: les manuscrits illustrés,” pp. 107–19.
  - 11 For visual examples of Daoist frontispiece drawings, see the manuscript on the Three Officials dated 1470 and the frontispiece associated with salvation dated 1568 reproduced in Stephen Little

and Shawn Eichman, *Taoism and the Arts of China* (Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago, 2000), pp. 236, 246–47, pls. 72, 77. See also the Ming frontispiece on *Taishang dongyuan shenzhou jing* 太上洞玄神咒經 painted in color and reproduced in *Naraken shozai chügoku kohankyô chösa hōkokusho*, pp. 40–41 and pl. 13. For more studies on Daoist illustrations, see Lin Sheng-chih 林聖智, “Nansō no dōkyō ni koeru jigoku kyūsai no zuzōgaku—denryō Ryōkai ‘ōteikeizukan’ kō” 南宋の道教における地獄救済の図像学 (The Iconography of Rescuing Souls in Hell and Its Association with the Southern Song Daoism: A Case Study of the ‘Yellow Court Scripture Handscroll’ Attributed to Liang Kai), *Bukkyō geijutsu* 佛教藝術 268 (2003), pp. 93–118; and “The Iconography of Daoist Salvation from Hell: A Thematic Re-identification of Illustration of the Classic of the Yellow Court (Huangting jing),” *Orientalism* 38, no. 3 (2007), pp. 66–68. Shawn Eichman, “The Art of Taoist Scriptures,” *Orientalism* 31, no. 12 (2000), pp. 36–44. Shih-shan Susan Huang, “Daoist Imagery of Body and Cosmos: Part 1: Body Gods and Starry Travel,” *Journal of Daoist Studies*, vol. 3 (2010), pp. 57–90; and “Daoist Imagery of Body and Cosmos: Part 2: Body Worms and Internal Alchemy,” *Journal of Daoist Studies*, vol. 4 (2011), pp. 33–64. Wan Chui-ki 尹翠琪, “Daojiao banhua yanjiu: Daying tushuguan cang Yushu baojing si zhu ben zhi niandai ji chahua kao” 道教版畫研究: 大英圖書館藏《玉樞寶經》四註本之年代及插畫考 (Daoist Woodblock Prints: A Study of the Illustrations and Dating of the Glossed Yushu Baojing Collected in the British Library), *Daojiao yanjiu xuebao: zongjiao lishi yu shehui* 道教研究學報: 宗教、歷史與社會 (Daoism: Religion,

- History and Society), vol. 2 (2010), pp. 135–83.
- 12 Mi Fu 米芾, *Hua shi* 畫史, in *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu* 中國書畫全書, ed. Lu Fusheng 盧輔聖 et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1992–99), vol. 1, p. 978.
- 13 Robert Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), pp. 168–69. Lucille Chia, *Printing for Profit: The Commercial Publishers of Jianyang, Fujian (11th–17th Centuries)* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2002), pp. 87–91. For recent studies of the Gu Kaizhi tradition in the Song period, see Chen Pao-chen 陳葆真, “Chuanshi ‘Luoshen fu tu’ gushihua de biao xian lei xing yu feng ge xipu” 傳世《洛神賦》故事畫的表現類型與風格系譜, *Gugong xueshu jikan* 故宮學術季刊 23, no. 1 (2005), pp. 175–223; “Cong Liaoning ben Luoshen fu tu kan tuxiang zhuanyi wenben de wenti” 從遼寧本《洛神賦圖》看圖像轉譯文本的問題, *Guoli Taiwan daxue meishushi yanjiu jikan* 國立臺灣大學美術史研究集刊 23, pp. 1–50; *Luoshen fu tu yu zhongguo gudai gushihua* 洛神賦圖與中國古代故事畫 (Taipei: Shitou chubanshe, 2011). Shih Shou-chien 石守謙, “Luoshen fu tu: yike chuantong de xingsu yu fazhan” 洛神賦圖: 一個傳統的形塑與發展, *Guoli Taiwan daxue meishushi jikan* 國立臺灣大學美術史研究集刊 23 (2007), pp. 51–80.
- 14 Su Bai, *Tang Song shiqi de diaoban yinshua*, p. 77.
- 15 Su Shi 蘇軾, *Jingjin dongpo wenji shilue* 經進東坡文集事略 60, p. 995.
- 16 Chen Shidao 陳師道, *Houshan ji* 後山集 17: 4b–5a; Su Bai, *Tang Song shiqi de diaoban yinshua*, p. 76. For more information of Monk Datong, see Qian Yueyou 潛說友, *Xianchun linian zhi* 咸淳臨安志 70: 10b–11a.
- 17 Wenying 文瑩 (preface dated 1078), *Yuhu qinghua* 玉壺清話 5: 54–55; Jiang Shaoyu 江少虞, *Shishi lei yuan* 事實類苑 47: 3; Zeng Zao 曾慥, *Leishuo* 類說 55: 10b.
- 18 For the Liao print, see *Yingxian muta Liaodai micang* 應縣木塔遼代秘藏, ed. Shanxi sheng wenwu ju 山西省文物局 and Zhongguo lishi bowuguan 中國歷史博物館 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991), pp. 12–13, pls. 13–14. For the Dunhuang print, see Nathalie Monnet, *Chine: l’empire du trait: calligraphies et dessins du Ve au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2004), p. 82, pl. 53.
- 19 The Jin print is in the State Hermitage Museum. For an illustration, see James Watt et al., *The World of Kubilai Khan: Chinese Art in the Yuan Dynasty* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2010), p. 216, fig. 232.
- 20 Gregory Henderson and Leon Hurvitz, “The Buddha of Seiryōji: New Finds and New Theory,” *Artibus Asiae* 19, no. 1 (1956), pp. 5–55. For more documentation, see *Nihon chōkokushi kiso shiryō shūsei: Heian jidai: zōō meiki hen* 日本彫刻史基礎資料集成: 平安時代: 造像銘記篇一, ed. Maruo Shōzaburō 丸尾彰三郎 et al. (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1966). In addition to the Maitreya print, the deposited treasures of the Seiryōji Buddhist statue include three other Northern Song single-sheet Buddhist prints illustrating the Buddha’s preaching on the sacred mountain; the other two are Manjusri on the lion and Samantabhadra on the elephant; see *Higashi Ajia no hotoketachi* 東アジアの仏たち, ed. Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 奈良国立博物館 (Nara: Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 1996), pp. 126–28, pls. 134–36.
- 21 Heping Liu, “Empress Liu’s Icon of Maitreya: Portraiture and Privacy at the



- Early Song Court," *Artibus Asiae* 63, no. 2 (2003), pp. 29–190.
- 22 Guo Ruoxu 郭若虛, "Cishi xiang 慈氏像," *Tuhua jianwenzhi* 圖畫見聞誌 6, 492. Liu, "Empress Liu's Icon of Maitreya."
  - 23 Wang Zhenping, "Chōnen's Pilgrimage to China, 983–986," *Asia Major* 7, no. 2 (1994), pp. 63–97.
  - 24 For studies of Buddhist monasteries as sites of art viewing and art collecting, see Marsha Weidner, "Fit for Monks' Quarters: Monasteries as Centers of Aesthetic Activity in the Later Fourteenth Century," *Ars Orientalis* 37 (2010), pp. 49–77.
  - 25 Fumio Hirabayashi 平林文雄, *San Tendai Godaisan ki: kōhon narabini kenkyū* 成尋阿闍梨母の基礎的研究 (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1977), pp. 201, 205. Shih-shan Susan Huang, "Early Buddhist Illustrated Prints in Hangzhou," in *Knowledge and Text Production in an Age of Print: China, 900–1400*, ed. Lucille Chia and Hilde de Weerd (Leiden: Brill, 2011), p. 135.
  - 26 The drawing is known as *Chan'zong liuzu xiang* 禪宗六祖像 (The Six Patriarchs of the Bodhidharma Sect) and is preserved in the Kōzanji 高山寺 temple, Kyoto. It is a copy made after an original dating to 1054 and associated with Northern Song imperial sponsorship. For more documentation, see: *Taizōkyō, zuzō*, vol. 10, "Liuzu xiang." Ono Gemmyō 小野玄妙, "Tōmatsu Godai Chōsō jidai bukkyō ga 8" 唐末五代趙宋時代佛教畫八, *Kokka* 国華 524 (July 1934), pp. 186–87. Jan Fontein and Money L. Hickman, *Zen Painting and Calligraphy* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1970), pp. 2–5 (fig. 1). *Kōzanji ten: tokubetsu tenrankai Myōe Shōnin botsugo 750-nen* 高山寺展: 特別展覽會 明恵上人没後 750年 (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1981), pp. 168–69, 229–30, fig. 133. Shih Shou-chien 石守謙, "Guzhuan riben zhi nansong renwuhua de huashi yiyi—jianlun yuandai de yixie xiangguan wenti" 古傳日本之南宋人物畫的畫史意義—兼論元代的一些相關問題, *Meishu yanjiu jikan* 美術研究集刊 5 (1998), p. 159.
  - Shih-shan Susan Huang, "The Triptych of Daoist Deities of Heaven, Earth and Water and the Making of Visual Culture in the Southern Song Period (1127–1279)," (PhD diss., Yale University, 2002), p. 105.
  - 27 Fontein et al., *Zen Painting and Calligraphy*, pp. 2–4.
  - 28 Nakano, "Sō shōrai zuzō no denpa," p. 33.
  - 29 For more on the illustrative projects sponsored by the Northern Song imperial court, see Julia K. Murray, *Mirror of Morality: Chinese Narrative Illustration and Confucian Ideology* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), pp. 75–77.
  - 30 Guo Ruoxu, *Tuhua jianwenzhi* 6: 493. Jiang Shaoyu 江少虞, *Songchao shishi lei'yu'an* 宋朝事實類苑 50: 659.
  - 31 Guo Ruoxu, *Tuhua jianwenzhi* 6: 492–93. Murray, *Mirror of Morality*, pp. 76–77.
  - 32 Guo Ruoxu, *Tuhua jianwenzhi* 3: 476. Alexander C. Soper, *Kuo Jo-Hsü's Experiences in Painting (T'u-hua chien-wên chih): An Eleventh Century History of Chinese Painting Together with the Chinese Text in Facsimile* (Washington, DC: American Council of Learned Societies, 1951), p. 41. Su, *Tang Song shiqi de diaoban yinshua*, p. 76.
  - 33 The four printed illustrations from the Fogg Museum of Art are incomplete illustrations accompanying the thirteenth volume of the text. For a classic study of the printed illustrations accompanying Taizong's commentary, see Loehr, *Chinese Landscape Woodcuts*; for a reproduction of this illustration, see fig. 4; for dating, see p. 34. Yi Song-mi 李成美 argued that the Northern Song version is a later copy based on the Goryeo version; see Yi Song-mi, "Goryeo Chojo Daejanggyōng ūi 'Ejebijangjeon' Panhwa—Goryeo chogi sansuhwa ūi yeongu" 高麗初雕大藏經의 〈御製秘藏詮〉版畫—高麗初期 山水畫의 一研究, *Kogo misul* 考古美術, vols. 169–70 (1986), pp. 14–70. Chen Yuquan, however, proposes that the Northern Song version reflects the original version commissioned by Emperor Taizong in the late tenth century; see Chen Yuquan, "Beisong Yuzhi mizang quan banhua yanjiu," pp. 9–32. For illustrations of the Goryeo version, see Egami and Kobayashi, *Nanzenji shozō "Hizōsen" no mokuhanga*.
  - 34 Chen Yuquan, "Beisong Yuzhi mizang quan banhua yanjiu," pp. 7, 25.
  - 35 This includes the iron-wire linear brushstrokes framing the rock formations inherited from blue-and-green landscape painting; see Chen Yuquan, "Beisong Yuzhi mizang quan banhua yanjiu," pp. 44–46.
  - 36 The Song imperial printing office was the Yinjing yuan 印經院 (Bureau of Printing Scriptures), first established by Emperor Taizong. It was later changed to the Chuanfa yuan 傳法院; see Chen Yuquan, "Beisong Yuzhi mizang quan banhua yanjiu," pp. 12, 143, 158–59. This printing office contained different departments in charge of translating, collating, editing, and printing. See Su Bai, *Tang-Song shiqi de diaoban yinshua*, p. 17; and Ogawa Kan'ichi 小川貫一, trans. Shijie foxue mingzhu yicong bianwei hui 世界佛學名著譯叢編委會, "Beisong chiban dazang jing he yijing yuan" 北宋敕版大藏經和譯經院, in *Dazang jing de chengli yu bianqian* 大藏經的成立與變遷 (Taipei: Huayu chuban, 1984), pp. 35–46.
  - 37 Of the five published examples, the two frontispieces from the 1060 and 1063 editions were printed by the Qian family, and the three frontispieces from

- the 1068 and 1069 editions bear the commercial marking of the Yan family. See Cui Wei, "Shandong sheng Xinxian Songta chutu Bei Song fojing," pp. 39–42; and Huang, "Early Buddhist Illustrated Prints in Hangzhou," pp. 147–54. According to Chikusa Masaaki 竺沙雅章, Buddhist scholars and eminent monks were appointed by the government in Kaifeng and Hangzhou to collate these printed sutras; see Chikusa Masaaki, "Chūgoku kohankyō ni tsuite—Sōdai tankokubon butten to Min-Shin zōkyō" 中國古版經について—宋代單刻本佛典と明清藏經, in *Naraken shozai chūgoku kohankyō chōsa hōkokusho* 奈良縣所在中國古版經調査報告書, ed. Naraken Kyōiku iinkai (Nara: Naraken kyōiku iinkai, 2001), p. 16.
- 38 Cui Wei, "Shandong sheng Xinxian Songta." Huang, "Early Buddhist Illustrated Prints in Hangzhou," pp. 147–54.
- 39 For more studies of the Tang murals of the sutra tableaux related to the *Lotus Sutra*, see *Fahua jing huaquan* and Wang, *Shaping the Lotus Sutra*.
- 40 Susan Whitfield et al., *The Silk Road: Trade, Travel, War and Faith* (Chicago: Serindia, 2004), p. 300, pl. 262. Clarissa Von Spee, "Introduction: Printing the Pictorial in China—Historical and Cultural Contexts," in *The Printed Image in China: From the 8th to the 21st Centuries*, ed. Clarissa Von Spee (London: British Museum Press, 2010), p. 16, fig. 1. Murray, "The Evolution of Buddhist Narrative Illustration," pp. 136–37, fig. 40. Ledderose, *The Ten Thousand Things*, pp. 150–51, fig. 6.9.
- 41 Murray, "The Evolution of Buddhist Narrative Illustration," p. 136.
- 42 The tenth-century frontispiece drawings discovered in the Dunhuang library cave and introduced by Jean-Pierre Drège all focus on the iconic representations of deities without any obvious narrative depiction; see Drège, "Du texte à l'image," pp. 107–19, figs. 1–16, and p. 161.
- 43 For more on these *Dharani* frontispieces and related scholarship, see Huang, "Early Buddhist Illustrated Prints in Hangzhou," pp. 137–42; and Tsiang, "Buddhist Printed Images and Texts," pp. 207–14.
- 44 For a complete view of the *Dharani* frontispiece in the National Palace Museum, Taipei, see *Daguan: Songban tushu tezhan* 大觀: 宋版圖書特展, ed. Lin Boting 林柏庭 (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 2006), p. 193, pl. 22.
- 45 For an illustration, see *Huqiu Yunyan sita Ruiguang sita wenwu* 虎丘云岩寺塔瑞光寺塔文物, ed. Suzhou bowuguan 苏州博物馆 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2006), pp. 162–63.
- 46 For more on tenth-century frontispieces (mostly hand-painted versions) from Dunhuang, Gansu province, see Drège, "Du texte à l'image: les manuscrits illustrés," pp. 107–119, figs. 1–16. For the Liao frontispieces discovered in the Yingxian pagoda, Shanxi province, see *Yingxian muta Liaodai micang*, pp. 7, 109, 173, pls. 6–7, figs. 17, 26.
- 47 *Miaofa lianhua jing tulu*, pp. 88–89.
- 48 *Miaofa lianhua jing tulu*, pp. 47, 88–89.
- 49 Although the work is now labeled as an early twelfth-century Korean sutra painting, whether it is Goryeo, Song, or Japanese is still open to debate; see Julia Meech-Pekarik and Pratapaditya Pal, *Buddhist Book Illuminations* (New York: Ravi Kumar Publisher, 1988), pp. 262–63; and Kungnip Chungang Pangmulgwan 국립중앙박물관 ed., *Sagyōng Pyōnsangdo ūi segye, Puchō kūrigo maūm* 사경변상도의 세계부처그리고마음 (Seoul: Chiaenei Kōmyunikeisyōn, 2007), p. 71, pl. 12.
- 50 Watson, *Lotus Sutra*, p. 183.
- 51 *Miaofa lianhua jing tulu*, pp. 46, 88.
- 52 For an illustration of the fourth frontispiece from the 1325 set in the collection of the Hagaji 羽賀寺 temple in Fukui 福井, see *Higashi Ajia no hotoketachi*, p. 213, pl. 209.
- 53 For an illustration, see *Zhongguo huilua quanji*, vol. 1, p. 43, pl. 37.
- 54 Xiao Tong, *Wen xuan* 19, p. 336.
- 55 Chen Pao-chen, "Chuanshi 'Luoshen fu' gushihua." Shih Shou-chien, "Luoshen fu tu," pp. 58–59.
- 56 The tile is now in the collection of the Sichuan Provincial Museum. For an illustration, see *Zhongguo meishu shi* 中國美術史, ed. Wang Chaowen 王朝聞 et al. (Jinan: Qilu chubanshe, 2000), vol. 3, pl. 19.
- 57 Ledderose, *Ten Thousand Things*, p. 156. Tseng Lan-ying 曾藍瑩, "Zuofang getao yu diyu zichuantong—cong Shandong Anqiu Dongjia Hanmu de zhizuo henji tanqi" 作坊格套與地域子傳統—從山東安丘董家漢墓的製作痕跡談起, *Guoli Taiwan daxue meishushi jikan* 國立臺灣大學美術史研究集刊 8 (2000), pp. 33–86. The Han tile motif can be traced back to similar motifs found on Warring States bronze and lacquer artifacts. For a visual example, see Kyō Siben 龔詩文, "Sengoku jidai no seidōki ni arawasareta sankagu shuryō zu" 戦国時代の青銅器に表された山岳狩獵図, *Machikaneyama ronsō* 待兼山論叢 37, no. 12 (2003), p. 23, fig. 12.
- 58 For the text, see Watson, *Lotus Sutra*, pp. 98–106.
- 59 Cf. the eighth-century mural in Mogao cave 23 in *Fahua jing huaquan*, p. 75, fig. 65.
- 60 For an illustration, see *Miaofa lianhua jing tulu*, pp. 47, 89. Wu Hung, *The Art of the Yellow Springs: Understanding Chinese Tombs* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010), pp. 139–48, 160–63, 185–88, 224–33.

- 61 For an illustration, see Maxwell Hearn et al., *Along the Riverbank: Chinese Paintings from the C. C. Wang Family Collection* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999), cover 2. For dating, see Shou-chien Shih, "Positioning Riverbank," in Hearn et al., *Along the Riverbank*, pp. 115–27; and Shih Shou-chien 石守謙, *Cong Feng'ge dao huayi: fansi zhongguo meishu shi* 從風格到畫意—反思中國美術史 (Taipei: Shitou chubanshe, 2010), pp. 89–118.
- 62 The fence surrounding the hut complex is also seen in Dong Yuan's *Hanlin chongting* 寒林重汀 (Wintry Forests and Layered Banks) in the collection of Kurokawa Kobunka Kenkyūjo 黒川古文化研究所. For an illustration, see Shih Shou-chien, *Cong Feng'ge dao huayi*, p. 95, pl. 27.
- 63 For more discussion of the pictorial theme of "a lofty hermit residing amid mountains and streams" (*jiangshan gaoyin* 江山高隱) as depicted in the *Riverbank*, see Shih Shou-chien, *Cong Feng'ge dao huayi*, pp. 108–11; for the detail of the hermit, see p. 109, pl. 46.
- 64 The ox rider returning to the fenced hut and the figure striking the drum do not appear in the extant Southern Song and Yuan Lotus Sutra frontispieces associated with Hangzhou; cf. *Miaofa lianhua jing tulu*, pp. 19–31.
- 65 For selected scholarship of the Liao visual and material culture, see: *Gilded Splendor: Treasure of China's Liao Empire (907–1125)*, ed. Hsüeh-man Shen (New York: Asia Society, 2006). Hsüeh-man Shen, "Body Matters: Manikin Burials in the Liao Tombs of Xuanhua, Hebei Province," *Artibus Asiae*, 65, no. 1 (2005), pp. 99–141. Li Qingquan 李清泉, *Xuanhua Liao mu: muzang yishu yu Liaodai shehui* 宣化遼墓: 墓葬藝術與遼代社會 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2008). Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, *Liao Architecture* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997). François Louis, "The Genesis of an Icon: The 'Taiji' Diagram's Early History," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 63, no. 1 (2003), pp. 145–96. Wu Hung, *The Art of the Yellow Springs: Understanding Chinese Tombs* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010), pp. 139–48, 160–63, 185–88, 224–33.
- 66 For an excavation report, see Feng Pengsheng 馮鵬生, "Rang wenwu guibao zaixian shengming—xiufu Yingxian muta Liaodai jingjuan huafu de tihui" 讓文物瑰寶再現生命—修復應縣木塔遼代經卷、畫幅的体会, *Wenwu* 文物 6 (1982), pp. 1–8. Yan Wenru 閻文儒 et al., "Shanxi Yingxian Fogongsi Shijiata faxian de 'Qidan' he Liaodai kejing" 山西應縣佛宮寺釋迦塔發現的《契丹藏》和遼代刻經, *Wenwu* 文物 6 (1982), pp. 9–19. Hou Kai 侯愷 and Feng Pengsheng 馮鵬生, "Yingxian muta mizang Liaodai meishu zuopin de tantao" 應縣木塔秘藏遼代美術作品, *Wenwu* 文物 6 (1982), pp. 29–33.
- 67 For the extant four complete specimens of the Yingxian frontispieces corresponding to the third, fourth, and eighth volumes of the *Lotus Sutra*, see *Yingxian muta Liaodai micang*, pp. 7, 109, 116, 170, 173; for more discussion of the list of texts and artifacts discovered in the pagoda, see the preface by Zhang Changgeng 張暢耕, Zheng Enhuai 鄭恩淮, and Bi Sujuan 畢素娟, pp. 9–67.
- 68 For the documentation of the Feng Family publishing house, see the colophon at the end of the fourth volume of the *ding* 丁 set in *Yingxian muta*, p. 141. For dating, see: the preface by Zhang Changgeng and others on pp. 12–15, esp. p. 14. Feng Pengsheng, "Ran wenwu guibao zaixian shengming," p. 8. Yan Wenru et al., "Shanxi Yingxian Fogongsi," p. 18. Hsueh-man Shen, "Praying for Eternity: Use of Buddhist Texts in Liao Buddhist and Funerary Practices," in *Gilded Splendor*, p. 92, n. 17.
- 69 For an illustration, see *Yingxian muta Liaodai micang*, p. 109; and Drège, "De l'icône à l'anecdote," p. 56, fig. 13. A similar motif of a thunder god and a lightning agent striking gongs appears in the Southern Song and Xi Xia frontispieces, a reference to a different episode in the seventh volume; see Huang, "Early Buddhist Illustrated Prints in Hangzhou," pp. 161–62.
- 70 Chen Yuquan, "Beisong Yuzhi mizang quan banhua yanjiu," p. 43.
- 71 For a complete view of the painting, see Shih, *Cong Feng'ge dao huayi: fansi zhongguo meishu shi*, p. 99, pl. 32.
- 72 For an illustration, see Loehr, *Chinese Landscape Woodcuts*, fig. 4.
- 73 Saliceti-Collins, "Xi Xia Buddhist Woodblock Prints," p. 52.
- 74 For the most comprehensive database of the Khara Khoto prints, see *Ecang Heishuicheng wenxian* 俄藏黑水城文獻, 12 vols., ed. Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan 中國社會科學院, Minzu yanjiusuo 民族研究所, Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1996–2000). For recent studies of the Xi Xia Buddhist illustrated prints excavated from Khara Khoto, see: Saliceti-Collins, "Xi Xia Buddhist Woodblock Prints." Hu Jinshan 胡進杉, "Xi Xia wen kanben 'Jingguangming zuishengwang jing' de liangfu feihua" 西夏文刊本《金光明最勝王經》的兩幅扉畫, *Faguang xuetan* 法光學壇 6 (2002), pp. 117–47. Drège, "De l'icône à l'anecdote: les frontispices imprimés en Chine à l'époque des Song (960–1278)." Robert Linrothe, "New Delhi and New England: Old Collection of Tangut Art," *Orientalism* 27 (1996), pp. 32–41. For other artifacts discovered in Khara Khoto, especially portable Buddhist paintings, see *Lost Empire of the Silk*



*Road: Buddhist Art from Khara Khoto (X–XIIIth century)*, ed. Mikhail Piotrovsky (Milan: Electa, 1993); Robert Linrothe, “Peripheral Visions: On Recent Finds of Tangut Buddhist Art,” *Monumenta Serica* 43 (1995), pp. 235–62. For more on the Xi Xia visual and material cultural studies, see Saliceti-Collins, “Xi Xia Buddhist Woodblock Prints,” esp. pp. 11–20; and Han Xiaomang 韓小忙, Sun Changsheng 孫昌盛, and Chen Yuexin 陳悅新, *Xi Xia meishushu* 西夏美術史 (Beijing: Wenwuchubanshe, 2001). For the Tibetan-style Buddhist art produced under Xi Xia rule, see Xie Jisheng 謝繼勝, *Xi Xia zangchuan luilhua: Heishu-icheng chutu Xi Xia tangka yanjiu* 西夏藏傳繪畫：黑水城出土西夏唐卡研究 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2002).

75 Saliceti-Collins, “Xi Xia Buddhist Woodblock Prints,” p. 152.

76 For more on the monks affiliated with the Xi Xia court, see Saliceti-Collins, “Xi Xia Buddhist Woodblock Prints,” pp. 118–19, 153–58.

77 Wang Shanhui 王善惠, Wang Shanyuan 王善圓, He Shanhai 賀善海, and Guo Goumai 郭苟埋 were documented Chinese carvers who were involved in the printing of the *Lotus Sutra* sponsored by Emperor Renzong 仁宗 of the Xi Xia kingdom in 1146. See Saliceti-Collins, “Xi Xia Buddhist Woodblock Prints,” p. 58; and Shi Jinbo 史金波, *Xi Xia fojiao shilue* 西夏佛教史略 (Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin chubanshe, 1988), p. 148.

78 *Ecang Heishuicheng*, vol. 4, TK 167. Saliceti-Collins, “Xi Xia Buddhist Woodblock Prints,” pp. 58–59.

79 *Miaofa lianhua jing*, pp. 56–58. Watson, *Lotus Sutra*, pp. 298–306.

80 *Ecang Heishuicheng*, vol. 4, TK 167.

81 For other pictorial examples of bird-like mountains in Tang and Song Buddhist art, see the Sui dynasty (593–617) mural of the Dunhuang Mogao cave 420 and the Southern Song frontispiece drawing of the *Lotus Sutra* in the Cleveland Museum of Art, reproduced in Zhao Shengliang 趙聲良, ed., *Shanshui huajuan* 山水畫卷, *Dunhuang shiku quanji* 敦煌石窟全集, vol. 18 (Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshu guan, 2002), p. 50, pl. 37. Marsha Weidner ed., *Latter Days of the Law: Images of Chinese Buddhism, 850–1850* (Lawrence, KS: Spencer Museum of Art, University of Hawai'i Press, 1994), pl. 20. Wang, *Shaping the Lotus Sutra*, p. 196, fig. 4.5. Robert Harrist, *Painting and Private Life in Eleventh-Century China: Mountain Villa by Li Gonglin* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), fig. 35.

82 This 1069 frontispiece is one of the five discovered in the pagoda in Xinxian. Its composition is awkwardly divided into eight vignettes, with the one at the upper-right corner depicting a generic scene of the Buddha giving a sermon and the other seven referring to different chapters (*juan*) of the sutra. The seventh vignette in the lower-left corner is comparable to the TK 169 frontispiece. For an illustration, see Su Bai, *Tang Song shiqi de diaoban yinshua*, p. 145, fig. 32.

83 See TANG 61, inventory no. 1 in *Lost Empire of the Silk Road*, p. 269, pl. 82.

84 Cf. Saliceti-Collins, “Xi Xia Buddhist Woodblock Prints,” p. 59.

85 Miya, “Sō-Gen hampon,” pp. 25–35.

86 *Miaofa lianhua jing*, pp. 19–25, 78–79. Huang, “Early Buddhist Illustrated Prints in Hangzhou,” pp. 155–63.

87 Miya, “Sō-Gen hampon,” pp. 30–31. Huang, “Early Buddhist Illustrated Prints in Hangzhou,” p. 155.

88 Cf. the images of lay figures dressed in Mongolian fashion—illustrated in the same poses as in the Yuan edition (dated

around 1331–46)—in frontispieces of the *Lotus Sutra* prints commissioned by lay devotees from Jiaying 嘉興 county; see *Miaofa lianhua jing tulu*, pp. 82–83.

Marsha Weidner Haufler calls attention to Buddhist monks as connoisseurs and temples as artistic centers, a little-studied topic in Chinese art history that deserves further exploration; see Marsha Weidner, “Picturing Monks as Connoisseurs and Monasteries as Sites of Aesthetic Engagement,” *Zurich Studies in the History of Art* 13/14 (2009), pp. 399–417.

For more on the production of art and temples during the Song, see the study of the Southern Song divination prints associated with the Upper Tianzhu Monastery in Huang, “Tianzhu lingqian.”

89 Huang, “Early Buddhist Illustrated Prints in Hangzhou,” pp. 159–60.

90 For selected scholarship on *jiehua* in the Song and Yuan, see: Robert J. Maeda, “Chieh-Hua: Ruled-line Painting in China,” *Ars Orientalis* 10 (1975), pp. 123–41. Heping Liu, “The Water Mill and Northern Song Imperial Patronage of Art, Commerce, and Science,” *Art Bulletin* 84, no. 4 (2002), pp. 566–95. Anita Chung, *Drawing Boundaries: Architectural Images in Qing China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004), pp. 9–44. Chen Yun-ru 陳韻如, “Jiji de tuxiang: Wang Zhenpeng longzhou tu yanji” 記憶的圖像：王振鵬龍舟圖研究, *Gugong xueshu jikan* 故宮學術季刊 20, no. 2 (2002), pp. 129–64.

“Jiehua’ zai Song Yuan shiqi de zhuanzhe: yi Wang Zhenpeng de jiehua weili” 「界畫」在宋元時期的轉折：以王振鵬的界畫為例, *Guoli Taiwan daxue meishushu jikan* 國立臺灣大學美術史研究集刊 26 (2009), pp. 135–92.

91 Li Jie 李誠, *Yinzhao fashi* 營造法式 33, p. 8. See also: Qinghua Guo, “Yingzao Fashi: Twelfth-Century Chinese Building Manual,” *Architectural History* 41 (1998),

- pp. 1–13. Nancy Steinhardt et al., *Chinese Architecture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 187–89. Shiqiao Li, “Reconstituting Chinese Building Tradition: The *Yingzao fashi* in the Early Twentieth Century,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62, no. 4 (2003), pp. 470–89.
- 92 Wu Hung, *The Double Screen: Medium and Representation in Chinese Painting* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996).
- 93 *Miaofa lianhua jing tuhu*, pp. 19, 21.
- 94 For an illustration, see *Songdai shuhua ceye mingpin tezhan* 宋代書畫冊頁名品特展 (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowu yuan, 1995), pl. 45, pp. 171–73; and *Daguan: Beisong shuhua tezhan*, p. 216, pl. 34. Chen Yun-ru dates this painting to the early twelfth century and proposes that it depicts a scholar in his studio; see *Daguan*, pp. 217–20. For more evidence supporting its Song date, especially the mounting style of the hanging scroll depicted in the painting and a Southern Song collection seal that is impressed upon it, see the entry by Lin Po-ting 林柏亭 in *Songdai shuhua ceye*, pp. 276–79. Wu Hung, however, dates the painting to the early Ming; he cites James Cahill’s observation regarding the “Ming fashion” of the mounting style of the hanging scroll depicted in this album leaf; see Wu Hung, *The Double Screen: Medium and Representation in Chinese Painting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), pp. 231–32, fig. 163, and p. 278, n. 271. James Cahill, *An Index of Early Chinese Painters and Paintings* (Berkeley: University of California, 1980), p. 221. For a comparison with the small hanging scroll depicted in the Taipei album leaf, see the Southern Song scroll in the set of *500 Lohans* by the Ningbo artists Lin Tinggui 林庭珪 and Zhou Jichang 周季常 in *Nihon Bukkyō 1300-nen no genryū*, pl. 104, p. 131. See also the Southern Song-to-Yuan *Album of Daoist and Buddhist Themes* in the Cleveland Museum, reproduced in *Tang Wu Daozi mo bao* 唐吳道子墨寶, ed. Yu Yi 余毅 (Taipei: Zhonghua shuhua chubanshe), p. 29. For comparable Qing paintings of Emperor Qianlong’s portraiture, drawing on the compositional template of the Northern Song *Scholar* album leaf, see the two versions in Wu Hung, “Emperor’s Masquerade—‘Costume Portraits’ of Yongzheng and Qianlong,” *Oriental Art* 26, no. 7 (1995), p. 36, figs. 12a–b; and *The Double Screen*, pp. 234–35, figs. 167–68.
- 95 For more on the paintings of reeds and waterfowl, see Lin Po-ting, “Xiaojing yu Song tingzhu shuinniao hua zhi guanxi” 小景與宋汀渚水鳥畫之關係, in *Songdai shuhua ceye*, pp. 62–72; and “The Relationship between Intimate Scenery and Shoal-and-Waterfowl Paintings in the Sung Dynasty,” in *Arts of the Sung and Yuan* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), pp. 87–107.
- 96 *Miaofa lianhua jing*, p. 29. Watson, *Lotus Sutra*, pp. 150–51. Cf. the tenth-century depiction of the same episode in Mogao cave 61, *Fahua jing*, p. 115, fig. 105.
- 97 Wen Fong, *Beyond Representation: Chinese Painting and Calligraphy 8th–14th Century* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), pp. 222–23, pl. 30a. Wu Hung, *The Double Screen*, p. 160, fig. 126. The painterly design of the screened couch is also a recurring theme in *Wenshu zhinan tuzan*, another Southern Song illustrated printed scroll that deserves further examination. See Jan Fontein, *The Pilgrimage of Sudhana: A Study of Gandavyūha Illustrations in China, Japan and Java* (Paris: Mouton, 1967), pp. 23–77. Huang, “The Triptych of Taoist Deities of Heaven, Earth, and Water,” pp. 127–28.
- 98 *Ecang Heishuicheng*, vol. 2, pp. 360–61. Drège, “De l’icône,” p. 51, fig. 7.
- 99 *Miaofa lianhua jing*, pp. 16–19; Watson, *Lotus Sutra*, pp. 80–106.
- 100 Similar scenarios are found in the Qin Meng/Bian Ren edition and the Rikkoku-an edition. See *Miaofa lianhua jing tuhu*, p. 24; and *Chūgoku kodai hanga ten*, p. 84.
- 101 For mural examples in Dunhuang Mogao caves 237, 61, and 98, see Wang Jinyu 王進玉 ed., *Kexue jishu huajuan* 科學技術畫卷, *Dunhuang shiku quan ji* 敦煌石窟全集, vol. 23 (Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshu guan, 2001), pp. 82, 84, 86, pls. 71, 75, 77.
- 102 Loehr, *Chinese Landscape Woodcuts*, fig. 15. For a Goryeo version based on the Song original, see *Goryeo Dynasty*, pp. 106–7, pl. 25. There are more comparable hut motifs depicted in the Koryo version of the *Mizangquan* frontispieces, now in the Nanzenji collection; see Egami and Kobayashi, *Nanzenji shozō “Hizōsen”*, pls. iii, vi, vii, ix, xxxi, xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxix, xlii.
- 103 For examples of the Yuan frontispieces, see *Miaofa lianhua jing tuhu*, pp. 29, 80, 82. For an example of the Goryeo sutra painting dated circa 1340, see *Arts of Korea*, pp. 172–73, pl. 78.
- 104 The Maitreya frontispiece survives in two copies: TK 38 and TK 81–83. For illustrations, see *Ecang Heishuicheng*, vol. 2, pp. 42, 308. The caption that reads “Shenru zhengshou 深入正受” (deeply in concentration) refers to the phrase from the Maitreya scripture; see *Foshuo guan mile pusa shangsheng doushuai tian jing*, p. 420.
- 105 See the episode labeled “Gongyang xianren” 供養仙人 (Offering to the Deity) in the fourth frontispiece; *Miaofa lianhua jing tuhu*, p. 46.

- 106 Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction*, pp. 172–73, fig. 4.6. Chia, *Printing for Profit*, p. 113.
- 107 *Miaofa lianhua jing*, p. 46. Watson, *Lotus Sutra*, pp. 240–43.
- 108 Jun'ichi Kikutake 菊竹淳一 and Hiroshi Yoshida 吉田宏志, *Kōrai Butsuga* 高麗仏画 (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1981), p. 60, fig. 68. For a recent study of Goryeo sutra paintings, see *Sagyōng Pyōnsangdo*.
- 109 Kumja Paik Kim et al., *Goryeo Dynasty: Korea's Age of Enlightenment 918–1392* (San Francisco: Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, 2003), p. 132, pl. 38.
- 110 For an illustration, see *Chosŏn sidae p'ungsokhwa* 朝鮮時代風俗畫 (Seoul: Han'guk Pangmulgwanhoe, 2002), p. 191.





## JADE SPIDERS AND PRAYING MANTISES OF THE WESTERN ZHOU DYNASTY

*Reconstructing an Ancient Cultural Mindset*

### Abstract

Animal motifs were prevalent throughout Early China (circa 7000–221 BCE),<sup>1</sup> particularly during what I call the golden age of zoomorphic imagery, the Shang and Zhou dynasties (circa 1300–771 BCE). In recent decades, research into the pre-Qin period (i.e., before 221 BCE) has focused more on mammal-related and imaginary iconography and less on crawling creatures. In fact, crawling-creature motifs, such as those featuring arachnids and insects, were rare but important features on carvings in Early China, with most examples produced exclusively during the Western Zhou period (1046–771 BCE). Through research into both the fragmentary archaeological evidence and collections in museums, this paper aims to investigate this exceptional phenomenon in ancient China as well as reconstruct the ancient cultural mindset of the Zhou people during the early first millennium BCE.<sup>2</sup> By examining two types of jade carvings, depicting spiders and praying mantises, I consider the cultural underpinnings for the taste in and enthusiasm for crawling-creature artifacts and mimetic art during the Western Zhou period. I propose that the reproductive habits and powerful physical features of spiders and praying mantises attracted the people of the Western Zhou, who assimilated them into their iconography using valuable materials—jade and bronze. In addition, depictions of the crawling creatures indicate that they were closely observed and that the secular interests of the Zhou people included both the natural environment and luxury items. Moreover, I trace the exotic geographical origins of crawling-creature imagery and the interactions between the Western Zhou and other people in the western and northern frontiers of China around three thousand years ago.

ANIMAL IMAGERY is a representation of the human perception of nature. Artistic choices reveal how human beings in different periods interacted with nature and are closely related to a society's cultural practices and perceptions of the environment. In China, animal images and zoomorphic motifs were a prevalent artistic theme throughout the Neolithic and Bronze Ages (circa 6000–221 BCE).<sup>3</sup> Eagles, water buffaloes, and domesticated animals such as rams and cows were produced in a range of formats and media, including bronze, ivory, jade, stone, and pottery. Archaeological evidence shows that in Early China (circa 7000–221 BCE) animal-shaped jade carvings were mainly distributed in the tombs of the high-ranking elite classes.

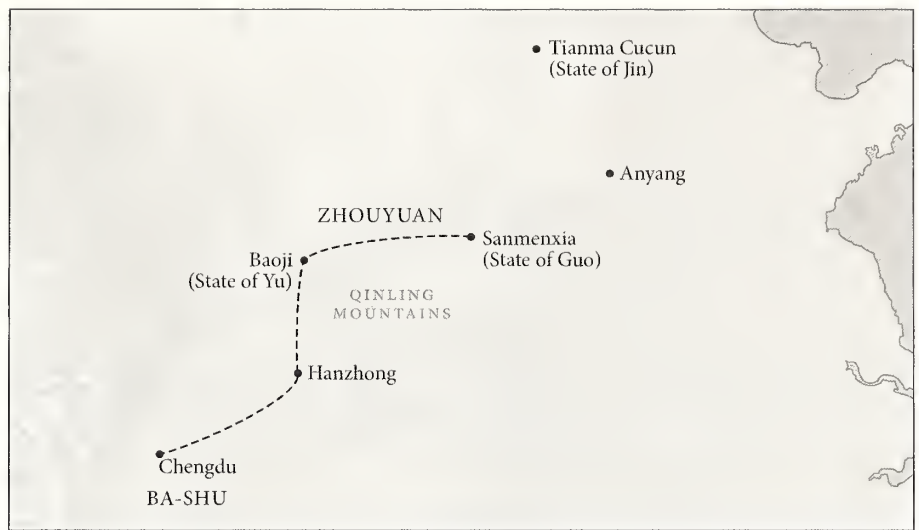
The Shang and Zhou periods (circa 1300–771 BCE) were what I describe as the golden age of zoomorphic imagery, when both actual and imaginary animals were depicted on artifacts, particularly jade carvings.<sup>4</sup> In this period, the quantity and

the variety of animal-related artifacts increased radically. For example, more than sixteen types of animals were found on 168 jade pieces, about twenty-two percent of the 755 pieces excavated, in the tomb of Lady Fuhao, the consort of a late Shang emperor, dated to the thirteenth century BCE.<sup>5</sup> And thirty-seven percent of the sixty-three jade pendants found in a late eighth-century BCE tomb belonging to a duke from the state of Guo, Henan province (fig. 1), were animal shaped; there were twenty-three types of animals in total.<sup>6</sup> Zoomorphic designs from the Western Zhou dynasty (circa 1046–771 BCE) suggest that they were inherited from the late Shang dynasty (circa 1300–1045 BCE) in terms of variety, artistic style, and quantity. However, most scholarly discussions make no clear distinction between the artistic approaches of the two dynasties.

Among the many zoomorphic motifs found in the art of Early China, crawling creatures such as spiders and praying mantises have drawn little scholarly attention. One reason is that scholars have tended to concentrate on other types of zoomorphic iconography.<sup>7</sup> As a result of new archaeological discoveries in China, for example, numerous studies of Shang and Zhou animal images have been conducted over the last three decades. These studies have concentrated on the typological classification of animal-shaped artifacts and anthropological discussions about imaginative zoomorphic imagery, and have recently provided a wider context, such as the function of animal motifs in mortuary and ritual art, the cosmological and political significance of animals, and animals as didactic images.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, most have focused on imaginary bird-related creatures, dragons, and animal hybrids. A second reason for the exclusion of spider and praying mantis images from scholarly discussions is their limited quantity and short period of production. Spider and mantis artifacts are proportionally rarer than mammal or bird artifacts produced during the Shang and Zhou periods, and they have never been a prevalent artistic choice in Chinese art. As such, the cultural importance of crawling-creature artifacts has been overlooked and underestimated.

Spider and mantis motifs, though rare, were depicted in the medium of jade in ancient China. Spider motifs were not present during the Shang dynasty, but mantises were. Surprisingly both types were prevalent during the Western Zhou dynasty but had practically disappeared by the Eastern Zhou dynasty (770–221 BCE).<sup>9</sup> In addition, the development of these unusual jade carvings was different from that of other artifacts with animal themes, such as the stylized bird-shaped pendants and dragon-shaped jade carvings that were popular in both the late Shang and Western Zhou periods.<sup>10</sup> Jade, renowned as a precious gemstone and for its translucence and toughness, has been revered as an aristocratic and prestigious medium in China for more than five thousand years. As I will demonstrate in this essay, these unusual, striking spider- and mantis-shaped objects indicate key aspects of a material cul-





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Map of the Zhou Empire in the Western  
Zhou Dynasty (1046–771 BCE).

ture and the perception of the environment, including the reproductive activities of animals, that are not evident in other types of animal imagery produced in China at that time.

This article focuses on spider and praying-mantis decorative objects produced in the Western Zhou empire during the first half of the first millennium BCE, with reference to a remarkable bronze scabbard decorated with a spider in the Freer Gallery of Art as well as a spider-shaped jade sculpture and a pair of praying-mantis jade carvings excavated from China's Central Plain. The study of material culture is an essential methodology for understanding society and history in Early China, an era of limited textual documentation. Specifically, I will consider how these motifs were distinctive icons of a new pattern of cultural behavior and artistic choices among Western Zhou elites in the Central Plain. Given that artifacts were moved over the physical barrier of the Qinling Mountains 秦嶺 during the Zhou dynasty,<sup>11</sup> I propose that the few images of this type that survive be evaluated in the broader context of the interaction between Western Zhou China and the outside world. I will make comparisons between local designs and exotic artistic practices and illustrate subtle stylistic distinctions between the jade animals produced during the late Shang and the Western Zhou dynasties. This article cuts across conventional scholarly boundaries, benefiting not only from the humanities and social sciences but also from the insights of modern science, particularly entomology, a branch of biology. Entomology offers an empirical and scientific method for studying insects and has helped me reconstruct the perception of animals in the mindset of ancient people during the Western Zhou period.

### Crawling Creatures in the Western Zhou Period

Jade carvings depicting crawling creatures such as spiders, praying mantises, silkworms, grasshoppers, and cicadas first appeared in China during the Western Zhou dynasty.<sup>12</sup> These crawling-creature images can be divided into two groups. Jade silkworms and grasshoppers were usually mass-produced; they have similar appearances and form part of chain sets.<sup>13</sup> Jade spiders and praying mantises had realistic details, were unique in shape, were used as individual pendants or for display, and represented very distinctive craftsmanship.



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Western Zhou jade spider excavated from tomb 2009 of the state of Guo at Sanmenxia, Henan province. After *Huaxia wenming zhi yuan* (2002), p. 68.

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Western Zhou jade spider excavated from tomb 2009 of the state of Guo at Sanmenxia, Henan province. After *Zhenshi zhi yu: xian Qin yuqi jingpin zhan tuji* (2006), p. 163.



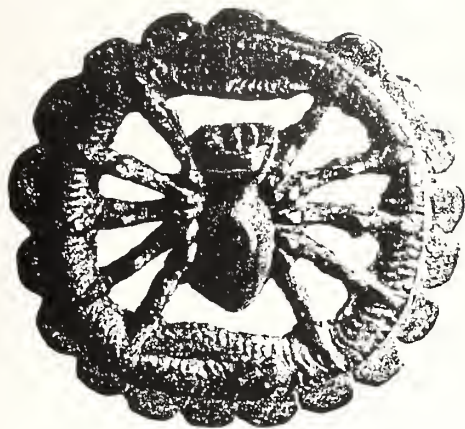
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Western Zhou bronze scabbard decorated with a sculptural spider. Gift of Charles Lang Freer, Freer Gallery of Art, F1916.393. Photo by Jenny F. So.

Since insects and other crawling creatures are relatively small and not as noticeable as other animal species, it is surprising to see little difference in size between the crawling creatures and mammals carved in jade during the Western Zhou dynasty. Carving jade is hard work, and the material is not easily accessible. Large and beautifully carved jade ritual items from the Neolithic and Bronze Ages in China are always found in the tombs of the elite. The larger and better quality of the jade carvings, usually the higher the status of the original owners. Jade and bronze were the most precious materials in Western Zhou China. Therefore, the size and the quality of the jade piece often reflects social status or military rank. Why did the people of the Western Zhou use such precious materials, jade and bronze, to represent these crawling creatures? What does this curious phenomenon tell us?

In 1991, two spider-shaped jade carvings were excavated from a circa 850–771 BCE tomb belonging to a noble at Sanmenxia in Henan province, an important Western Zhou archaeological site along the Yellow River.<sup>14</sup> One is a three-dimensional, realistic sculpture; the other is a symmetrical silhouette (figs. 2, 3). More specific, these are the only known spider-shaped jade carvings produced in Early China.<sup>15</sup> So far, only six spider-related artifacts from the pre-Qin era (i.e., before 221 BCE) have been found in the world; these include the two carvings from Sanmenxia. The third is the willow-shaped bronze scabbard with the spider decoration in the Freer collection (fig. 4). The fourth is an undated bronze ornament in the Von der Heydt Museum, Vienna (fig. 5).<sup>16</sup> The fifth is an Ordos plaque excavated in Siberia, dated circa 500 BCE–circa 300 BCE (fig. 6).<sup>17</sup> The sixth is a jade plaque decorated with an incised symmetrical spider motif excavated from Jinsha archeological site, dated circa 1100 BCE–circa 850 BCE (fig. 7).<sup>18</sup>

It is worth noting that the jade spider from Sanmenxia (fig. 2) shares many similarities with the one on the bronze scabbard (fig. 4). Both are three-dimensional and are rendered realistically. The jade spider is 6 centimeters long and 3.5 centimeters tall and has a swollen abdomen with some parallel lines incised underneath. The bronze spider is 6.9 centimeters long, approximately one-third the length of the sheath. It is upside down, with its head pointing to the tip of the sheath. Two circles for eyes are located where an actual spider's eyes would be. The jade spider has four pairs of legs plus a pair of pointed appendages that probably represent its chelicerae and palps (fig. 2).<sup>19</sup> The bronze figure has two pairs of legs. As we all know, actual spiders have eight legs, and insects have six. Entomological



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Bronze ornament collected in Von der Heydt Museum, Vienna. After *Sammlung Baron Edward von der Heydt Wien Ordos-Bronzen, Bronzen aus Luristan und dem Kaukasus, Werke Chinesischer Kleinkunst aus Verschiedenen Perioden* (1936), fig. 79.



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6  
Ordos plaque excavated in Siberia, circa 500–300 BCE. After *E'erdusi shi qingtongqi* (1986), p. 73, fig. 40.



7

7  
Jade plaque with an incised spider motif excavated at Jinsha burial site, circa 1100–850 BCE. After *Jinsha yiqi* (2006), p. 155.

studies show that spiders are often hold their legs in pairs when standing still, giving the appearance of a total of four legs, as is represented on the bronze scabbard.<sup>20</sup> Thus it appears that the jade and bronze spiders share the same naturalistic design. In fact, the naturalism can be seen not only on the spider sculptures but also on other kinds of animal iconography produced during the Western Zhou dynasty, reflecting the development of a new artistic style. (For more on this topic, see the last section of this essay.)

While extant examples of spider-decorated works are limited in number, they all seem to have been made with exceptionally high artistic and technical skill. The spider, considered by many to be a harmful species, is the subject of folk stories and legends in many parts of the world.<sup>21</sup> Its careful depiction in jade and bronze during the first millennium BCE is an indication of its importance to the elite classes in Western Zhou China. As discussed above, only a few spider-related objects have been collected by museums or unearthed by archaeologists in the last two decades; all are lucky survivors from ancient China. They may have been preserved because of their durable materials, but it is more likely that they were possessed by a small group of high-ranking people.

### Traces of a New Design

In searching for the origins of the spider iconography in China, we have to deal with several questions: Was the willow-shaped bronze scabbard (fig. 4) in the Freer's collection manufactured in the Zhou empire? If so, where did the inspiration for the spider imagery come from? Was it of non-Chinese origin?<sup>22</sup> Is it possible that these objects were imported rather than made by local artisans?

According to modern scholars, the knife inside the scabbard is similar to weapons produced by nomads outside southwestern or northern China.<sup>23</sup> Before the Zhou dynasty, the willow-shaped knife had been a portable weapon as well as a handy utensil—used either as a knife or a fork—among nomadic people in the northern steppe. From the eleventh to the tenth century BCE, local designers in the Zhou empire made decorative and openwork scabbards to accommodate the knives; the sets fit the needs of Western Zhou nobles. In my opinion, the scabbard was a new design that arose in China during the early Western Zhou and combined exotic cultural influences with local Zhou aesthetics.<sup>24</sup> The few other willow-shaped scabbards excavated in China support this point of view.





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Bronze scabbards decorated with a sculptural spider (F1916.393) and two Europoid faces (F1998.6). Photo by the author. Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1916.393; gift of Therese and Erwin Harris in honor of the 75th Anniversary of the Freer Gallery of Art, F1998.6, Freer Gallery of Art.

Two examples dating from the early to middle Western Zhou dynasty were excavated in western China, including Baoji in Shaanxi province and Lingtai Baicaopo in Gansu province.<sup>25</sup> Both were decorated on each side with a local motif, such as a stylized water buffalo or dragon. One example from the early Western Zhou dynasty was unearthed near Beijing.<sup>26</sup> Kneeling human figures with curly hair are at the top of each corner; their facial features are unclear due to corrosion. But a scabbard decorated with two similar figures, with pronounced European faces and curly hair, in the Freer Gallery of Art (fig. 8) suggests that European faces originally decorated the Beijing scabbard. These figures are different from the stylistic human figures with flat noses, round eyes, and long-sleeved clothes carved on Western Zhou jades and bronzes found in the Zhouyuan valley. I believe the European faces are more likely linked to people from Central Asia or the Near East, who had access to ancient China via the northern steppe.<sup>27</sup>

It is interesting to note that bronze scabbards have been excavated on the outskirts of Western Zhou China, including Baoji and Baicaopo in the west and Beijing in the north. These places were accessible to the areas populated by nomads outside northern and western China. For instance, some vessels, such as the pointed-base pottery and bronze vessels excavated in Baoji, were probably inspired by the artistic tastes in the Shu area beyond the western border.<sup>28</sup> Some scholars suggest that the willow-shaped knife and scabbard were inspired by objects that came from the Mongolian plains via Tianshan Mountain in Central Asia and northern China, or Sichuan in western China.<sup>29</sup> The locations of the excavated bronze scabbards, as well as their combination of local and exotic elements, suggest that the bronze scabbard was a regional product with foreign influences, initially manufactured in the



9

9  
Late Shang triangular bronze *ge* blade decorated with a huge centipede motif excavated at Wulangmiao in Chenggu, Shaanxi province. After *Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji* (1997), vol. 4, p. 170.

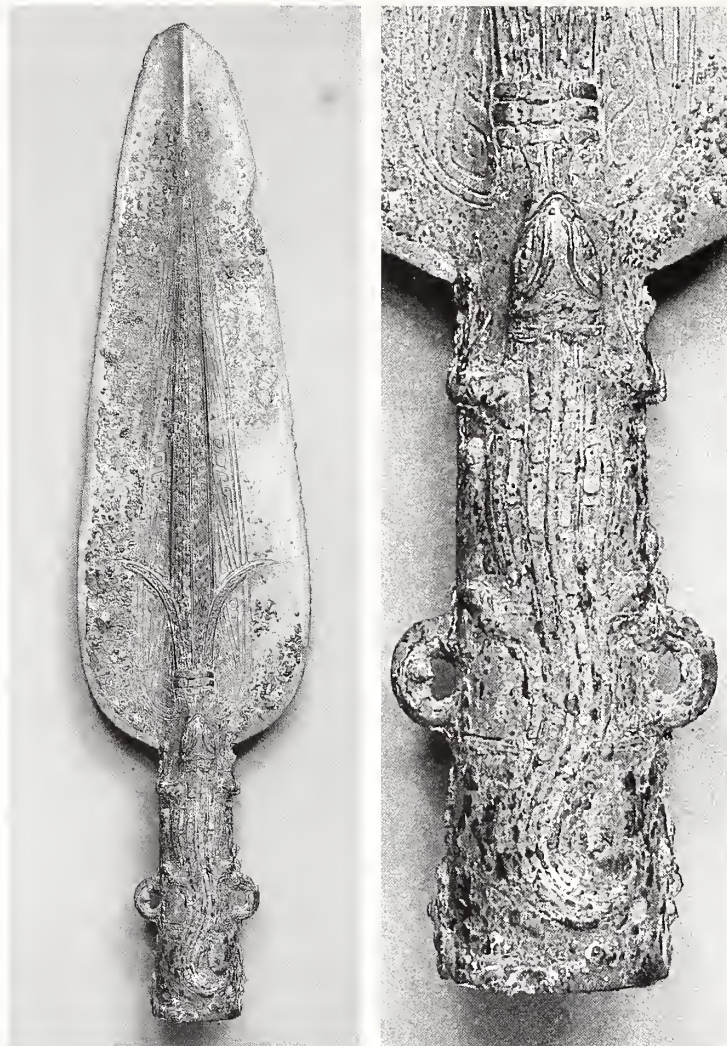
west and north. The scabbard not only protected the knife and enhanced its portability, allowing it to hang from a noble's waist, it also had a decorative appeal. Eventually, its function shifted from a practical utensil to a symbol of status and personal adornment.

Two excavated bronze weapons are critical for understanding the functions of crawling-creature iconography and confirming the inspiration for the spider motif. The first is a triangular *ge* blade, dated to the late Shang and decorated with a huge centipede, that was excavated at Chenggu Wulangmiao in Hanzhong city, south of Shaanxi province (fig. 9).<sup>30</sup> Chenggu Wulangmiao is located on the south side of the Qinling Mountains, where one end of a narrow pathway connects two sides of the mountain, historically named Shudao 蜀道, the Corridor of Shu.<sup>31</sup> Archaeologists have excavated many similar Western Zhou triangular *ge* blades in the Guanzhong area and the middle of Shaanxi province. For example, tombs at Baoji Zhuyuan-gou, located at the other end of the Corridor of Shu, held a large amount of triangular *ge* blades. Eighteen triangular blades have been unearthed from the site and between one and eight willow-shaped scabbards were found in each tomb.<sup>32</sup> Therefore, scholars believe there was a geographical and iconographical relationship between the blades and the scabbards during the late Shang and early Western Zhou periods.<sup>33</sup>

The Freer scabbard and the Chenggu blade are both decorated with a huge three-dimensional crawling creature in the center, and since both weapons seem to be related by period and geography, it is reasonable to compare and discuss them together. Similarly, the Shang ceremonial triangular *ge* blade with the centipede motif may help to explain the origin of the poisonous crawling creatures in Zhou iconography.

The Chenggu blade was unearthed in unclear archaeological circumstances, so we can analyze it only in terms of style, surface decoration, and typology. Many researchers claim that triangular *ge* blades were not connected to the bronze weapons produced in the Central Plain during the late Shang dynasty but more likely came from the remote Shu area in modern Sichuan.<sup>34</sup> (Chengdu Plain in eastern Sichuan province, traditionally named Shu 蜀, was settled by a





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Bronze spearhead (detail at right) excavated from Zhuwajie burial site in Pengzhou, first half of the first millennium BCE. After *Ancient Sichuan: Treasures from a Lost Civilization* (2001), p. 198, fig. 70.

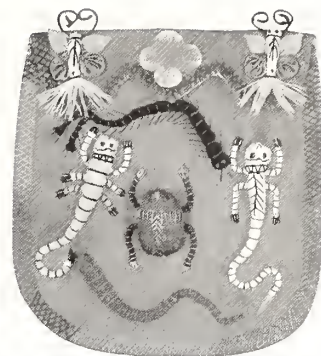
foreign civilized society, “Ba-Shu” 巴蜀, before the unification of China by the Qin Empire in 221 BCE.<sup>35</sup>) From the thirteenth to the tenth century BCE, various civilized societies were located in different areas of China, including the Royal Shang Kingdom in the Central Plain, along the Yellow River at Anyang in Henan province; the Sanxingdui culture at Chengdu in Sichuan province; and the indigenous Shang Kingdom of Xin’gan Dayangzhou near the Yangzi River in Jiangxi province. The transmission route of the triangular *ge* blades could have been from the Shu area to western Shaanxi province during the Shang and Western Zhou dynasties. The Chenggu blade probably was not from the Central Plain but from the remote Shu area.

If that is the case, poisonous-creature imagery may have been transmitted with bronze weapons from Shu via a southwest route, reaching the area south of the Qinling Mountains in Shaanxi as early as the late Shang (see fig. 1). Another example may help to prove this point. A bronze spearhead decorated with a lizard (fig. 10) was excavated in 1959 at Pengzhou Zhuwajie in Sichuan province; it has been dated to the first half of the first millennium BCE.<sup>36</sup> Made and excavated in the Shu area, it has a realistic lizard in low relief on a shaft that extends into the midrib of the willow-shaped blade. Lizards, spiders, and centipedes live in tropical or subtropical





11A



11B

11A

Chinese clothes for children decorated with the “five poisons” pattern. After *Zhongguo minjian meishu quanji* (1994), vol. 6, p. 31.

11B

Embroidered purse with appliquéd creatures representing the “five poisons.” After *Arts and Crafts of China* (1996), p. 68.

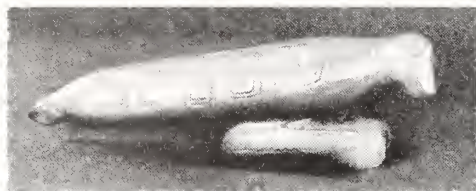
regions like the Shu area. They also have a place in traditional Chinese belief. They are three of the Five Poisonous Creatures (or Animals)—the others are the snake and the frog—that symbolize power over illness.<sup>37</sup>

Even today, children in Shaanxi province wear clothes or accessories with a “five poisonous animals” pattern (fig. 11). And people in rural villages use amulets or paper cutouts decorated with the pattern to ward off sickness. I propose that the “poison attacks poison” concept may have been adopted as early as the twelfth to eleventh century BCE. It may be one reason only certain kinds of crawling creatures were chosen to decorate bronze weapons during the Zhou dynasty. In nature, spiders and centipedes usually prey on other small creatures, using their strength and poison; some large spiders even attack birds.<sup>38</sup> These crawling creatures likely attracted the Western Zhou social elites because they symbolized strength and military power.

Moreover, the location, proportion, and style of the three crawling creatures on the weapons strengthen their connections to each other. Like the spider, the centipede and the lizard take up one-third of their weapons. All are located centrally as focal points. The great size of the centipede weakens the attacking function of the two beveled edges on the blade but enhances its decorative purpose. Even though the lizard-decorated bronze spearhead was probably manufactured a century later than the Chenggu blade found in southern Shaanxi province, their iconographical connection indicates that crawling-creature imagery was utilized along the Corridor of Shu during the Shang and Zhou periods.

The similarities between these three strange bronze weapons indicate that there was artistic interaction between the two sides of the Qinling Mountain range: the Shu area and the Central Plain (fig. 1). A small jade plaque with a spider motif supports a Shu origin for the arachnid imagery. A colorful, small nephrite plaque (fig. 7), excavated in the Jinsha archaeological site in 2001 and decorated with a symmetrical spider motif in intaglio, has been dated to the early Western Zhou dynasty (circa eleventh to mid-ninth century BCE).<sup>39</sup> Interestingly, the contours of the incised lines are very similar to the Sanmenxia spider-shaped jade silhouette (fig. 3) from the late Western Zhou. Both are stylized and symmetrical, with several strong pairs of legs extending from the body.<sup>40</sup>

The above examples help explain the choices made by artisans in the Shu and Central Plain areas to use certain types of animal imagery. The Freer bronze



12



13



14

12

Late Shang jade praying mantis excavated from tomb of Lady Fuhao, Henan province. After *Yinxu Fuhao mu* (1980), p. 173, pl.139:1.

13

Late Shang jade praying mantis excavated from Yinxu, Henan province. After *Zhongguo yuqi quanji* (2005), vol. 1, p. 184, fig. 264.

14

Late Western Zhou jade praying mantises excavated from tomb 63 of the Marquis of Jin, Shanxi province. Photo by author.

scabbard, a local product with exotic features, seems to have been manufactured in the Western Zhou area rather than imported from beyond the borders of China. The non-Chinese origin of the spider iconography is indicated by several distinctive and crucial objects with small crawling-creature imagery produced along the Corridor of Shu, where many foreigners lived. Even though the Ordos plaque is decorated with a realistic spider (fig. 6) and has been dated to the second half of the first millennium BCE, we still require more information to determine whether there was any interaction between China and the northern steppe during this period.

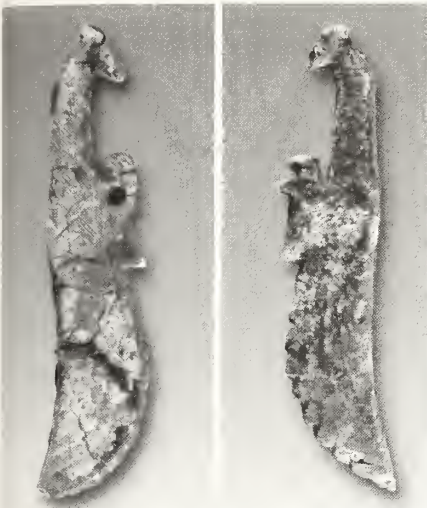
### Depictions of Fertilization

An unusual jade carving from the Western Zhou dynasty was unearthed in tomb 63 belonging to the Marquis of Jin in Shaanxi province. It depicts two praying mantises carved from one piece of jade, a rare form of representation (fig. 14).<sup>41</sup> During the Shang and Zhou periods, praying mantises were usually depicted separately. Based on published information, seven late Shang and Western Zhou jade praying mantises have been excavated: one from the tomb of Lady Fuhao (fig. 12),<sup>42</sup> one from Yinxu (fig. 13), and two from Yinsu Dasikongcun (fig. 15), all dated to the late Shang dynasty.<sup>43</sup> Several pieces date from the Western Zhou dynasty: one from the tomb at Tengzhou Qianzhangda in Shangdong province (fig. 16)<sup>44</sup> and one from the burial site of Changping Baifucun in Beijing (fig. 17).<sup>45</sup> All of the above examples are naturalistic representations, but we can distinguish differences between the Shang and Zhou jades. For example, the Shang examples feature geometric outlines and stylized cloud-like patterns. Stylistically, the Western Zhou insect bodies are more realistic and well-proportioned, with protruding eyes; small heads; big, knife-like arms; and segmented bodies.

In particular, the unique, combined praying mantises from the Marquis of Jin's tomb provide insight into the ideology of the Western Zhou people. The larger praying mantis is riding the other one, using its huge, sickle-shaped upper limb to grasp the smaller one's head as its abdomen presses on the back of the other. I interpret the pose in two ways: as a mating process or as a preying process.

Praying mantises and some species of spiders practice "sexual cannibalism," in which a female organism kills and consumes a male of the same species before, during, or after copulation.<sup>46</sup> This special biological process has attracted writers, sci-





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Two jade praying mantises excavated from Yinsu Daisikongcun burial site in 2007, Henan province. After *Kaogu xuebao*, no. 3 (2008), p. 382, figs. 35.9, 35.10.

16

Early Western Zhou jade praying mantis excavated from tomb of Qiangzhangda in Tengzhou, Shangdong province. After *Zhongguo chutu yuqi quanji* (2005), vol. 4, p. 129.

17

Early Western Zhou jade praying mantis excavated from Changping Baifucun, Beijing. After *Zhongguo yuqi quanji* (2005), vol. 1, p. 203, fig. 264.



16



17

entists, and artists throughout human history, so the same was probably true of the Western Zhou elites as well. The Jinhou jade piece of two praying mantises recalls the biological process of sexual cannibalism; a male and female approach each other, the smaller male jumps onto the larger female, and copulation begins. After mating, the female turns its head around and kills the male to get enough nutrients for producing eggs (fig. 18). Jade is a precious material, which indicates the importance of the themes or the images carved on it. I suggest that a great interest in the natural environment, particularly on the biological processes of arthropods, which the ancient Chinese called *cong* 蟲,<sup>47</sup> developed among Western Zhou people with high social status. Artisans used luxury materials to realistically depict these unusual crawling creatures for their patrons' personal enjoyment. This new artistic style illustrates the Western Zhou perception of nature and the animal world.

When we look at this carving (fig. 14) carefully, we see that the bigger mantis is riding the smaller one, which is contrary to the process of sexual cannibalism. However, perhaps this is the final stage of sexual activity, in which the female attacks the male. Or perhaps it is simply two praying mantises wrestling with each other. I propose, however, that it was the reproductive behavior of these insects that encouraged Western Zhou people to incorporate it into their iconography.

One more example supports my argument. Certain species of spider carry their young in egg sacs. Female spiders can lay up to three thousand eggs in one or more silk sacs (also called cocoons),<sup>48</sup> which maintain a fairly constant humidity. Baby spiders pass through all their larval stages inside the eggs until they hatch as spiderlings.<sup>49</sup> It is not difficult to imagine that the huge abdomen of the Sanmenxia jade spider is a sign of pregnancy. In this case, it could be holding thousands of eggs (figs. 19a–b).





18

18

Praying mantises (before, during, and after). From *Food Chain: Encounters Between Mates, Predators, and Prey* (2000). Photos by Catherine Chalmers; reprinted with permission.

19A

A large female crab spider mating with a tiny male under her big abdomen. After *Spiders of the World* (1988), p. 63.

19B

A female wolf spider carrying a mass of newly hatched babies on her back. After *Spiders of the World* (1998), p. 93.



19A



19B

### The Realism of the Jade Carvings

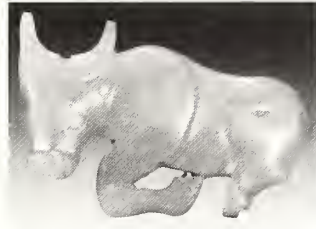
Realism has long been regarded as a Western aesthetic rooted in Greek and Roman art and philosophy.<sup>50</sup> Throughout the twentieth century, Western art historical scholarship has used realism to evaluate art from around the world. Art historians such as Kenneth McKenzie Clark (1903–1983) and Ernst Hans Josef Gombrich (1909–2001) consistently linked civilized societies to realism, a reflection of their own artistic tastes.<sup>51</sup> However, more and more scholars have been reviewing ambiguous concepts, such as “civilized versus primitive,” which have created unnecessary conflicts between the West and the East. In the past two decades, for instance, Martin J. Powers and Jack Goody have critically discussed the problems that arise when Western perspectives are applied to Chinese art.<sup>52</sup>

One theory suggests that realistic representation of landscapes in Chinese painting developed during the Five Dynasties and the Northern Song dynasty (circa tenth–twelfth century),<sup>53</sup> when Neo-Confucianism, a philosophy characterized by humanism and rationalism, was prevalent in China. And Roel Sterckx has concluded that the ancient Chinese had no interest in the “scientific” description and observation of animals.<sup>54</sup> He argues that the ancient Chinese thought of animals in terms of morality and of the animal realm as characterized by human self-perception; because they gave human qualities to animals, they had no “scientific impetus” to investigate the animals themselves.<sup>55</sup> The evidence Sterckx uses, however, was drawn from texts produced mainly between the Warring States and the Han periods (771 BCE–220 CE), and he provides no visual examples of animal designs. In my opinion, his argument is not applicable to the period before the mid-eighth century BCE, particularly the Western Zhou period.

It is my belief that animal-shaped artifacts produced during the Western Zhou are evidence of a newly formed artistic taste, a style of accurate depiction



20A



20B



20C



20D



20E



20F



20G



20H

#### 20A–H

Comparison of late Shang (left) and the Western Zhou (right) animal-shaped jade carvings: (a) after *Yinxu dixia guibao: Henan Anyang Fuhao mu* (1994), fig. 68; (b) after *Zhenshi zhi yi: Xianqin yuqi jingpin zhan tulu* (2006), fig. 195; (c) after *Zhongguo chutu yuqi quanji* (2005), vol. 4, fig. 49; (d) after *Zhongguo chutu yuqi quanji* (2005), vol. 4, fig. 82; (e) after *Yinshang Fuhao mu* (1980), col. pl. 33.1; (f) after *Zhongguo chutu yuqi quanji* (2005), vol. 4, p. 116; (g) after *Yinxu dixia guibao: Henan Anyang Fuhao mu* (1994), fig. 132; (h) after *Zhongguo chutu yuqi quanji* (2005), vol. 4, p. 176.

based on close observation. I argue that the ability to depict realistic art was established in China during the Zhou dynasty, and the desire originated because of the secular concerns of Western Zhou elites, which differ from the ideological and cultural contexts imposed on them by some Western art historians. Even though Western Zhou artisans did not develop a perfect approach to anatomical representation or linear perspective, they did intend to represent the animals realistically. Depicting the powerful physical features and interesting biological activities of crawling creatures in luxury objects or as personal accessories was not a feature of the earlier Shang empire, during which the focus was on ritual objects. The change may have been due to the increased secular interest in nature





21

21

The Western Zhou stag-shaped jade pendant with slanting slopes to indicate the back. Photo by the author.

and luxury objects on the part of the Western Zhou elites. Excavations of Western Zhou tombs indicate that the realistic jade animals were often placed directly on the bodies of the deceased. They were probably important possessions, serving as ornaments in people's daily lives.

Western Zhou China inherited an interest in depicting animals on jades and bronzes from the Shang, but the artistic approaches in the two dynasties were different. Late Shang jade animals are usually decorated with detailed incised lines, capture the most characteristic poses, and are rendered from above or in profile; they are not anatomical. Western Zhou jades are usually plain, with deeply beveled contours that create more sculptural surfaces. This naturalism is found not only in spider- and mantis-related artifacts but also in a variety of animal images produced during this period. To conclude this discussion, I will demonstrate the subtle differences between the Shang and Zhou artistic approaches and how a realistic style of art became established during the Western Zhou dynasty.

Two patterns of artistic practice in late Shang and Western Zhou animal jade carvings can be established by the following example. The animal-shaped jade carvings on the left column of figure 20 (a, c, e, g) were produced in the late Shang dynasty. Figures 20a, e, and g were excavated from the late Shang tomb of Lady Fuhao, and figure 20c was excavated from an early Western Zhou tomb.<sup>56</sup> Those on the right column of figure 20 (b, d, f, h) were manufactured and excavated from tombs of Western Zhou nobles.<sup>57</sup> Shang jade animals are generally more geometric, retaining the gemstone's original rectangular shape; see the cylindrical shape of the bulky bird sculpture (fig. 20a) and the rectangular contour of the bird pendants (fig. 20e). Artisans applied stiff and unnatural postures to the jade pieces, leaving little space or openwork on the surface. For example, I suggest that the necks of the bird-shaped pendants were highly compressed and bent ninety degrees to fully utilize the surface area of the material (fig. 20e).<sup>58</sup> Jade is a precious and tough material, so it is possible that Shang artisans were mainly concerned with reducing waste.





22A



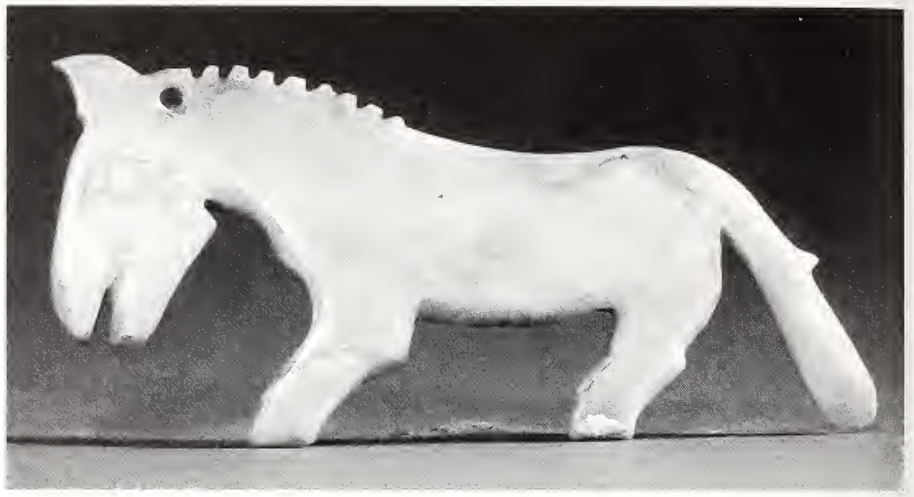
22B

## 22A-B

Realistic late Western Zhou horse-shaped jade sculpture and boar-shaped bronze vessel: (left) photo by the author; (right) after *Jinguo qizhen: Shanxi jinhou muqun wenwu jingpin* (2002), p. 52.

Furthermore, a new artistic practice is revealed in the jade animals made during the early Western Zhou dynasty, as illustrated by the excavations at the Qianzhangda burial site,<sup>59</sup> which dates to the eleventh century BCE. Some Shang animal-shaped jade carvings were collected from these tombs. Another type of water buffalo, such as one made of jade and decorated with double incised lines (fig. 20c) was smoothly carved, with a big, hollow space underneath the belly (fig. 20d); it was produced during the Western Zhou period. Many comparatively realistic carvings were also found at Qianzhangda, such as a bird-shaped pendant (fig. 20f) and an alert stag with elaborate antlers from the Western Zhou (fig. 20h). Compared to the stiff and distorted shapes of the Shang birds, the Western Zhou bird has a well-proportioned head, sharp beak, and gracefully curving neck, which could have been achieved only by eliminating a large section of jade. Sharp edges and plain surfaces are characteristic of animal-shaped jade pendants made in the late Shang dynasty (fig. 20g), but a Western Zhou animal-shaped jade pendant such as the stag excavated from Zhouyuan valley has a nicely curved edge that shows the musculature of its body (fig. 21). Surprisingly, although it is only three to four millimeters thick, it has two gently slanting slopes at the top to create the back, enhancing the illusion of a sculptural body on a fairly flat surface. This subtle yet difficult carving technique shows the artisan's intent: to create a realistic depiction of the creature, regardless of the materials used. This marks a change from the late Shang dynasty during which, as mentioned earlier, waste reduction seems to have been the main concern. Similar examples can also be found in many animal-shaped jade carvings and bronze sculptures from the Western Zhou, including a bronze boar-shaped ritual vessel and jade horse excavated from the tomb of Marquis Jin in Shaanxi province (fig. 22). For example, compared to the simple design of the horse-shaped jade pendant excavated from the Shang dynasty tomb of Lady Fuhao (fig. 23),<sup>60</sup> the complex structure of the Western Zhou horse's skull and its muscles were rendered faithfully on a very hard stone, indicating that the sculptor must have closely observed a real horse.

Searching through fragmentary archaeological evidence and collections in museums, we can now to a certain extent reconstruct the geographical origins of crawling-creature imagery and the interactions between the Western Zhou and other people three thousand years ago. Realistic crawling-creature imagery was used for the first time in China during the early Western Zhou dynasty. Exotic



24

23

A late Shang jade horse pendant excavated from the tomb of Lady Fuhao, after *Yinxu dixia guibao: Henan Anyang Fuhao tomb* (1994), fig. 64.

influences from the west or the north as well as an interest in the natural environment led to depictions of strong or poisonous crawling creatures. The presence of such imagery demonstrates the creatures' powerful and tangible value among the Western Zhou elites as well as the latter's close observation of the natural world. Extant ornaments of the period reflect not only an enthusiasm for realistic art but also that the early Chinese craftsman's ingenuity in relation to animal imagery has been greatly underestimated.

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## NOTES

- 1 Early China includes the Neolithic period and the Bronze Age. This article defines “Early China” as ending with the unification of China by the Qin Empire, i.e., before 221 BCE.
- 2 The Zhou people occupied lands north of the Yellow River early in the second millennium and settled in the Zhouyuan valley of the Wei River, which is identified as the Central Plain of the Zhou empire in the first half of the first millennium BCE.
- 3 The zoomorphic iconography discussed here includes imaginary and real animals. In Early China, the classification and qualities associated with animals varied from era to era. See Chan Lai Pik, “The Animal-shaped Jade Carvings in the Western Zhou Dynasty” (PhD diss., Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2009), pp. 3–6. In fact, zoological terms in Early Chinese texts are either generic categories or collections of different species. Roel Sterckx discusses different terms and genres used during the Warring States and the early Imperial periods. See Roel Sterckx, “Defining Animals,” in *The Animal and the Daemon in Early China* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2002), pp. 15–43; “Animal Classification in Ancient China,” *East Asian Science, Technology and Medicine* 23 (2005), pp. 28–29. Modern science’s biological definition of “animal,” however, refers to all members of the kingdom Animalia, from insects to humans. The six animal species groups in Linnaean taxonomy include mammals, birds, amphibians, reptiles, fish, and invertebrates. To a certain extent, these six classifications are comparable to the taxonomy of animals in a Han work known as *Chunqiu fanlu* 春秋繁露, which can be seen in the titles of “zoological focused” chapters like *shi chong* 釋蟲, *shi yu* 釋魚, *shi niao* 釋鳥, *shi shou* 釋獸, and *shi chu* 釋畜. See Sterckx, *The Animal and the Daemon in Early China*, pp. 22–23.
- 4 Most scholars agree that animal designs were prevalent on artifacts during the “Shang and Zhou periods,” a phrase that usually refers to the period between the late Shang and the Western Zhou dynasties (ca. 1300–771 BCE) and excludes the early Shang and the Eastern Zhou dynasties. See K. C. Chang, “The Animal in Shang and Zhou Bronze Art,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 41, no. 2 (1981), pp. 527–54, and *Art, Myth, and Ritual: The Path to Political Authority in Ancient China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), p. 56; Jessica Rawson, *Chinese Jade: from the Neolithic to the Qing* (London: British Museum Press, 1995), p. 205.
- 5 Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中國社會科學院考古研究所, ed., *Yinxu Fuhao mu* 殷墟婦好墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1980), pp. 151–73.
- 6 For details on the animal-shaped jade pendants of tomb 2001 in the state of Guo, see Henan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 河南省文物考古研究所 and Sanmenxia shi wenwu gongzuodui 三門峽市文物工作隊, eds., *Sanmenxia Guoguo mu* 三門峽虢國墓, vol. 1 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1999), pp. 157–65.
- 7 Bird-related imaginary creatures, like dragons and zoomorphic hybrids, have been popular themes for scholarly study. For example, see Chang, “The Animal in Shang and Chou Bronze Art,” pp. 527–54; Wu Hung, “Bird Motifs in Eastern Yi Art,” *Oriental Art* 16, no. 10 (October 1985), pp. 30–41; Jessica Rawson, “Animal Motifs on Early Western Zhou Bronzes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections,” *Oriental Art* 18, no. 9 (September 1987), pp. 14–25, and



- Chinese Jade: from the Neolithic to the Qing* (London: British Museum Press, 1995), pp. 198–236, 340–77.
- 8 For a recent publication on the zoomorphic imagery of Early China, see Eugene Y. Wong, ed., *An Ancient Menagerie: New Perspectives in the Zoomorphic Imagination in Early Chinese Art and Culture* (London: Periscope Publishing, 2009).
  - 9 This situation applies to most jade arachnids and insects in Early China, with two exceptions: jade silkworms and cicadas. For instance, jade silkworms have been found since the Neolithic period. Jade cicadas appeared in China not only during the Western Zhou dynasty but also in the Neolithic period and from the Shang to the Han dynasties. Jade cicadas have been discussed widely; for example V. Sylwan, "Silk from the Yin Dynasty," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 9 (1937), pp. 119–26; Yositate Narumi 吉武成美, Jiang Youlong 蔣猷龍, trans., "Jiaca de jiyuan he fenhua yanjiu" 家蠶的起源和分化研究, *Nongye kaogu* 農業考古, no. 2 (1983), pp. 316–24, 418; Mu Chaona 穆朝娜, "Shiqian shiqi de yuchan" 史前時期的玉蟬, *Wenwu chunqiu* 文物春秋, no. 6 (2006), pp. 11–20, 68. Nevertheless, arachnid- and insect-shaped jade carvings produced during the pre-Qin dynasty deserve further study.
  - 10 The stylized bird-shaped jade pendants in the Western Zhou period are mainly rectangular or triangular in shape with a standardized format originally developed in the late Shang dynasty, see Yang Boda 楊伯達, ed., *Zhongguo yuqi quanji*, vol. 1 中國玉器全集1 (Shijiazhuang shi: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 2005), p. 201; Chan, "Animal-shaped Jade Carvings," p. 128.
  - 11 As archaeologists and scholars such as Cho-yun Hsu and Katheryn M. Linduff have documented, artifacts (including ritual jades, bronze vessels, and weapons) excavated in Sichuan were similar to objects found in the Central Plain and perhaps were moved over Qinling Mountains during the Shang and Zhou dynasties. For example, bronze spears and halberds excavated in Pengxian resembled their Shang counterparts. The jade pieces unearthed from Guanghang were also similar to ritual materials manufactured during the Shang and Zhou. See Cho-yun Hsu and Katheryn M. Linduff, *Western Zhou Civilization* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), pp. 214–17. These few arachnid images should be evaluated in the broader context of the interaction between Western Zhou China and the outside world. For the landscape and environment of the Qinling Mountains, see Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China: The Crisis and Fall of the Western Zhou, 1045–771 BC* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 30–33.
  - 12 See n. 9.
  - 13 See Chan, "Animal-shaped Jade Carvings," pp. 87–90.
  - 14 The official archaeological report of these spider-shaped jade carvings has not yet been published. However, the two jades have been exhibited several times, including *Jade: Jades of Jin's Empire*, November 8, 2002–January 5, 2003, Temporary Exhibition Gallery, Civic and Municipal Affairs Bureau (IACM), Macao and *The Dialogue of Purified Stone: The Selected Pre-Qin Jades*, January 15–April 15, 2006, Guangdong Province Museum, China.
  - 15 So far, three early Chinese spider-decorated nephrite carvings have been excavated. Only the two mentioned in this paragraph were carved in the shape of a spider. The third one is a small jade plaque decorated with a spider motif in intaglio. See Chengdu wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 成都文物考古研究所, ed., *Jinsha yuqi* 金沙玉器 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2006), p. 155; see also n. 40.
  - 16 Viktor Greissmaier, *Sammlung Baron Edward von der Heydt Wien Ordo-Bronzen, Bronzen aus Luristan und dem Kaukasus, Werke Chinesischer Kleinkunst aus Verschiedenen Perioden* (Vienna: Krystall-Verlag 1936), fig. 79.
  - 17 Tian Guangjin 田廣金 and Guo Suxin 郭素新, *E'尔多斯 shi qingtongqi* 鄂爾多斯式青銅器 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1986), pp. 73, fig. 40.
  - 18 Chengdu wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 成都文物考古研究所, ed., *Jinsha yuqi* 金沙玉器 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2006), p. 155.
  - 19 Chelicerae are the first set of appendages near the spider's mouth. They are used for defense or attack or as "pliers" for grasping. Palps generally resemble legs; however, they are not usually used for locomotion but to manipulate prey. See Rainer F. Foelix, *Biology of Spiders* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 21–22, 24; Jan Beccaloni, *Arachnids* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009), p. 12.
  - 20 Dr. Edward A. Chapin, curator, Division of Insects, United States National Museum, from 1926 to 1954, identified the spider as being of the family *Epeiridae* (*Argiopidae*). For a study on the movement of spiders' legs, see the curatorial remarks file, Freer Gallery of Art, and Foelix, *Biology of Spiders*, pp. 188–90.
  - 21 The general perception of spider nowadays is that they inject their prey with venom; an example is the infamous black widow spider, *Latrodectus mactans*, which can be lethal to humans. However, the vast majority of spiders are not harmful at all. See Beccaloni, *Arachnids*, p. 27. Folk stories and myths all around the globe incorporate spider motifs; one

- example is Arachne from Greek mythology. See Rod and Ken Preston-Mafham, *Spiders of the World* (New York: Sterling Publishing Co., Inc., 1993), pp. 14–15.
- 22 In this article, the term “non-Chinese” refers to people other than the Shang or Zhou located in the Central Plain of China or the styles of art they used.
- 23 For the origins of the willow-shaped knife in the Sichuan area, see Jiang Zhanghua 江章華, “Bashu liuyexing jian yuanyuan shitan” 巴蜀柳葉形劍淵源試探, *Sichuan wenwu*, no. 1 (1992), pp. 81–84; Duan Yu 段渝, “Bashu qingtong wenhua de yanjin” 巴蜀青銅文化的演進, *Wenwu*, no. 3 (1996), pp. 36–47; Sichuan sheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui 四川省文物管理委員會等, “Guanhan sanxingdui weizhi yihao jisikeng fajue jianbao” 廣漢三星堆遺址一號祭祀坑發掘簡報, *Wenwu*, no. 10 (1987), pp. 1–15. Another argument suggests that the knife came from the Near East to Central Asia and then via the Ordos Steppe area to China; see Lin Meicun 林梅村, “Shangzhou qingtongjian yuanyuan kao” 商周青銅劍淵源考, in *Han Tang Xiyu yu Zhongguo wenming* 漢唐西域與中國文明 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1998), pp. 39–63. Another scholar, Lu Liancheng, suggests, “The Northern bronze short daggers and the Early Western Zhou willow-shaped knives might be influenced by the Jemdet Nasr Culture (ca. 3100–2900 BCE) and later the Akkadian bronze culture of the Sumerian Empire (2334–2083 BCE), via the plateaus of Iran to Central Asia, Siberia and the plateaus of Mongolia. Short bronze daggers were prevalent weapons in the Jemdet Nasr Culture during 3100–2900 BCE.” See Lu Liancheng 盧連成, “Caoyan sichou zhi lu—Zhongguo tong yuwai qingtong wenhua de jiaoliu” 草原絲綢之路——中國同域外青銅文化的交流, in Shang guan Hong Nan 上官鴻南, Mi Shiguang 米士光, eds., *Shi Nianhai xiansheng bashi shouchen xueshu wenji* 史念海先生八十壽辰學術文集 (Xi'an: Shanxi shifendaxue chubanshe, 1996), p. 719. Recently, Duan Yu modified his previous argument to suggest that the willow-shaped knife originated in Anatolia in early 3000 BCE, then was transmitted via India and Central Asia (between mid-3000 and 1500 BCE) and to southwestern China (the Shu area) around 1300 BCE. See Duan Yu 段渝, “Shangdai Zhongguo Xinan qingtongjian de lai yuan” 商代中國西南青銅劍的來源, *Shehui kexue yanjiu*, no. 2 (2009), pp. 175–81.
- 24 Max Loehr suggests that as a type this kind of scabbard originated from the north. See Max Loehr, “Ordos Daggers and Knives: New Materials, Classification, and Chronology. First part: Daggers,” *Artibus Asiae* 12, nos. 1/2 (1949), pp. 54–55. Jenny F. So has discussed the local and foreign influences of willow-shaped bronze scabbards; she suggests that they first appeared in the far west and north, without mentioning their specific origins outside China. See Jenny F. So and Emma C. Bunker, *Traders and Raiders on China's Northern Frontier* (Seattle: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, and University of Washington Press, 1995), pp. 46–48.
- 25 For the Baoji example, see Lu Liancheng 盧連成, Hu Zhisheng 胡智生, and Baojishi bowuguan 寶雞市博物館, eds., *Baoji Yuguo mudi* 寶雞引魚國墓地 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), pls. 110.5, 119.4. For the Lingtai Bacaopo example, see Gansusheng bowuguan wenwudui 甘肅省博物館文物隊, “Gansu Lingtai Baicaopo xizhou mu” 甘肅靈台白草坡西周墓, *Kaogu xuebao*, no. 2 (1977), pls. 14.3–14.4 and fig. 13.1.
- 26 The scabbard is currently on view at the Capital Museum of Beijing. For archaeological information, see Beijing shi wenwu yuanjiu suo 北京市文物研究所 ed., *Beijing Liulehe Yanguo mudi 1973–1977* 北京琉璃河墓地1973–1977 (Beijing: wenwu chubanshe, 1995), pp. 200–202.
- 27 So and Bunker, *Traders and Raiders on China's Northern Frontier*, p. 48.
- 28 Lu Liancheng 盧連成, Hu Zhisheng 胡智生, and Baojishi bowuguan 寶雞市博物館, eds., *Baoji Yuguo mudi* 寶雞引魚國墓地 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), p. 455.
- 29 See nn. 22, 24.
- 30 Tang Jinyu 唐金裕, Wang Shouzhi 王壽芝, and Guo Zhangjian 郭長江, “Shanxi sheng Chengguxian chutu yinshang qitongqi zhengli jianbao” 陝西省城固出土殷商青銅器整理簡報, *Kaogu*, no. 3 (1980): 215–16.
- 31 For a geographical description of the Zhou empire and the Qinling Mountains, see Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China*, pp. 30–33.
- 32 For the number of triangular ge blades in Zhuyuegou tombs, see Lu Liancheng 盧連成, Hu Zhisheng 胡智生, and Baojishi bowuguan 寶雞市博物館, eds., *Baoji Yuguo mudi* 寶雞引魚國墓地 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), pp. 79, 115–16, 133–34, 160–63, 181–82, 194, 215, 224, and 254. For the willow-shaped bronze scabbards in Zhuyuegou tombs, see Zhao Congcang 趙叢蒼, “Zhenggu yangxian tongqi zonghe yanjiu” 城固洋縣銅器綜合研究, *Wenbo*, no. 4 (1996), pp. 3–26.
- 33 Li Boqian 李伯謙, “Zhenggu qingtong qun yu zhaoji zhuwenhua” 城固青銅器群與早期蜀文化, *Kaogu*, no. 12 (1983), pp. 66–70; Lu Liancheng 盧連成, and Hu Zhisheng 胡智生, “Baoji Yujiazuang, Zhuyuangou mudi chutu bingqi de chubu yanjiu—jianlun zhushi binqi de

- yuanyuan he fazhan” 寶雞茹家莊、竹園溝墓地出土兵器的初步研究——兼論蜀式兵器的淵源和發展, *Kaogu yu wenwu* no. 5 (1983): 50–64.
- 34 For a discussion of bronze triangular *ge* blades, see Zhao Congcang 趙叢蒼, “Zhenggu yangxian tongqi zonghe yanjiu” 城固洋縣銅器綜合研究, *Wenbo*, no. 4 (1996), pp. 17–18; Duan Yu 段渝, “Bashu qingtong wenhua de yanjin” 巴蜀青銅文化的演進, pp. 39–42. The triangular *ge* blade is typical of weapons in the Zhengyang area. One hundred and eleven triangular *ge* blades from Yinxu periods I and II were unearthed there, representing 76.6 percent of the total number of bronze weapons found. However, no more than twenty pieces were unearthed in the Royal Shang Kingdom, located in modern Zhengzhou and Anyang in Henan province. Therefore, the triangular *ge* blades probably did not come from the Royal Shang Kingdom. See Tang Jinyu 唐金裕, Wang Shouzhong 王壽芝, and Guo Zhangjian 郭長江, “Shanxi sheng Chengguxian chutu yinshang qingtongqi zhengli jianbao” 陝西省城固縣出土殷商青銅器整理簡報, *Kaogu*, no. 3 (1980), pp. 215–16. For a discussion of the transmission route of triangular *ge* blades from the Shu area to the South, see Duan Yu 段渝, “Bashu qingtong wenhua de yanjin” 巴蜀青銅文化的演進, p. 41; Liu Hong 劉弘, “Lun zhushi ge de nanchuan: xinan qingtongge de zaiyanjiu” 論蜀式戈的南傳——西南青銅戈的再研究, *Sichuan Wenwu*, no. 5 (2007), pp. 66–74; Yin Cun 印群, “Shangzhou zhi ji sanjiaoyuan qingtongge yu Shuren sui wuwang fazhou” 商周之際三角援青銅戈與蜀人隨武王伐紂, *Qilu xuekan*, no. 6 (2008), pp. 34–38; for an argument that the transmission route was from the Shu area in Hunan province to the Central Plain, see Li Xinqin 李新秦, “Guanyu sanjiaoxing yuange de xinrenshi” 關於三角形援戈的新認識, in Baoji qingtongqi bowuguan, ed., *Zhou qin wenming luncong* II 周秦文明論叢 (第二輯) (Xian: Sanqin chubanshe, 2009), pp. 154–57.
- 35 The term joins two cultural and political entities known from ancient texts; the state of Ba was located in east Sichuan and the state of Shu was in west Sichuan. These states probably arose in the eighth to the sixth century BCE. Since the third century BCE, people have combined their names as it is hard to distinguish between them, given current knowledge. See Michèle Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, “Sichuan in the Warring States and Han Periods,” in *Ancient Sichuan: Treasures from a Lost Civilization*, ed. Robert Bagley (Seattle: Seattle Art Museum and Princeton University Press, 2001), pp. 39–40.
- 36 Bagley, *Ancient Sichuan*, p. 198, fig. 70.
- 37 See Yao Weijun 姚偉鈞, *Changjiang liuyu de yinshi wenhua* 長江流域的飲食文化 (Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2004), p. 361.
- 38 The arthropod *phylum* is divided into several subphyla and classes, which include arachnids, insects, and centipedes. See Beccaloni, *Arachnids*, pp. 5–6. For a description of bird-eating spiders, see Preston-Mafham, *Spiders of the World*, pp. 12, 41, 107.
- 39 Chengdu wenwu kaogu yanjiu suo 成都文物考古研究所, ed., *Jinsha yuqi* 金沙玉器 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2006), p. 155.
- 40 Although both images resemble each other, the Sanmenxia jade silhouette has three pairs of legs instead of four. The spider motif on Jinsha jade pendant has three pairs of legs too and also a pair of appendages above and below the legs. The Sanmenxia jade silhouette is described as a dragonfly in *The Dialogue of Purified Stone*, p. 163. However, this image is too abstract to determine whether it is a spider or an insect.
- 41 Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi 北京大學考古系 and Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 山西省考古研究所, “Tianma-Quecun beizhao jinhou mudi dixici fajue baogao” 天馬一曲村遺址北趙晉侯墓地第四次發掘, *Wenwu*, no. 8 (1994), pp. 18, fig. 26.10.
- 42 Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中國社會科學院考古研究所, ed., *Yinxu Fuhao mu* 殷墟婦好墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1980), p. 173, pls. 85.7, 139.1.
- 43 Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan kaogu yanjiusuo Anyang gongzuodui 中國社會科學院考古研究所安陽工作隊, p. 382, figs. 35.9, 35.10, 10.5. Gu Fang 古方, ed., *Zhongguo chutu yuqi quanji*, vol. 4 中國出土玉器全集 4 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2005), p. 127.
- 44 Gu Fang 古方, ed., *Zhongguo chutu yuqi quanji*, vol. 4 中國出土玉器全集 4, p. 127.
- 45 Yang Boda 楊伯達, ed., *Zhongguo yuqi quanji*, vol. 1 中國玉器全集 1 (Shijiazhuang shi: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 2005), fig. 264.
- 46 Jae C. Choe, and Bernard J. Crespi, eds., *The Evolution of Mating Systems in Insects and Arachnids* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 117.
- 47 See nn. 3, 38.
- 48 Foelix, *Biology of Spiders*, pp. 254–59.
- 49 Ibid., p. 259.
- 50 Linda Nochlin, *Realism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1971), pp. 13–14; Matthew Beaumont, *Adventures in Realism* (Oxford: Blackwell Publication, 2007, 1961), pp. 1–13.
- 51 For example, see E. H. Gombrich, *Art and Illustration: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1961); “Action and Expression in Western Art,” in *The Essential Gombrich: Selected*



- Writings on Arts and Cultures*, ed. Richard Woodfield (London: Phaidon, 1996), pp. 113–38.
- 52 Martin J. Powers, *Pattern and Person: Ornament, Society, and Self in Classical China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006), pp. 310–13; Jack Goody, “The West’s Problem with the East,” in *The East in the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 5.
- 53 Wen C. Fong, “Toward a Structural Analysis of Chinese Landscape Painting,” *Art Journal* 28, no. 4 (summer 1969), pp. 383–94; *Images of the Mind* (Princeton, NJ: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1984), pp. 45–48. “Why Chinese Painting Is History,” *The Art Bulletin* 85, no. 2 (June 2003), pp. 263–64.
- 54 Sterckx, *The Animal and the Daemon in Early China*, p. 240.
- 55 Ibid., pp. 240–41.
- 56 Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中國社會科學院考古研究所, ed., *Yinxu Fuhao mu* 殷墟婦好墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1980); Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo, ed. *Tengzhou Qianzhangda mudi* 滕州前掌大墓地 (Beijing: wenwu chubanshe, 2005).
- 57 The jade water buffalo was excavated from tomb 2009 of the state of Guo at Shangcunling in Sanmenxia, Henan province. See Guangdong sheng bowuguan 廣東省博物館, ed. *Zhenshi zhi yu: Xianqin yuqi jingpin zhan tuji* 貞石之語——先秦玉器精品展圖集 (Guangzhou: Lingnan meishu chubanshe, 2006), p. 161. The other jade animals were excavated from the Qianzhangda burial site; see Gu Fang 古方, ed., *Zhongguo chutu yuqi quanji*, vol. 4 中國出土玉器全集 4, pp. 82, 107, 176.
- 58 Chan, “Animal-shaped Jade Carvings,” pp. 33–35.
- 59 Gu Fang 古方, ed., *Zhongguo chutu yuqi quanji*, p. 49.
- 60 Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中國社會科學院考古研究所, ed., *Yinxu Fuhao mu* 殷墟婦好墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1980).





AN ILLUSTRATED *MECMUA*

*The Commoner's Voice and the Iconography of the Court  
in Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Painting*

1 (FACING)

*Prophet Hamza on a simurgh,*  
Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul,  
H. 2134, fol. 2a.

**Abstract**

A small *Mecmua*, a seventeenth-century manuscript that includes a variety of narratives and paintings and is currently housed in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, is a rare example of commercial painting production outside the Ottoman palace workshop. The *Mecmua* includes nineteen single-page portraits of sultans, specific individuals, and heroes of popular literature as well as paintings of animals. Most of the illustrations are accompanied by texts that relate a brief story about the depicted person.

Using the *Mecmua* as an example, I will attempt in this essay to show how certain aspects of popular painting functioned in two specific environments. I will describe how court-based narratives and images became popularized; how the interaction between two spheres, the court and the city, was manifested in the oral literary tradition and visual culture; and how text and images changed as a result. In addition, this essay will address the following questions: what was the relationship between images and text? Were they changed at the same time? Did the text change in different ways than the images did? Was the textual transformation more substantial when compared to the images, or vice versa?

OTTOMAN BOOK PAINTING is best known for the lavishly illustrated copies of various texts that were prepared for Topkapı Palace courtiers by distinguished artists of the royal workshop. Lesser examples of the same or similar manuscripts, however, were probably made in city markets for an urban clientele.<sup>1</sup> This essay evaluates one of those rare examples of painting outside of the Ottoman court to show how certain aspects of popular painting functioned in this specific environment and time, and how the voices of ordinary people can be heard in the manuscript's images and texts. The small (11.0 x 16.8 cm) *Mecmua*, a manuscript housed in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, includes a variety of narratives and paintings and has not yet been the subject of a monographic study.<sup>2</sup> It is an example of so-called bazaar painting; its iconography and text show that it may have been produced as a compendium for a storyteller. It consists of thirty folios and includes nineteen single-page portraits of Ottoman sultans, individuals identified by their names, and heroes of popular literature as well as paintings of animals. None of these follow a thematic order; rather, the subjects seem to have been arranged randomly. On the initial page, which has an illuminated heading, there is a *kaside* (ode) eulogizing Murad IV (reigned 1623–40) written by a seventeenth-century Ottoman poet, Nef'i.<sup>3</sup> This suggests that the date of the *Mecmua* is around the middle of the seventeenth century as well.<sup>4</sup>



Thirteen illustrations in the *Mecmua* are enclosed within medallions placed in the center of the page,<sup>5</sup> while three of them are placed in rectangular frames.<sup>6</sup> The remaining three pictures do not have any frame.<sup>7</sup> Most of the illustrations are accompanied by texts written in black *naskh* script in the medallions on the opposite page or around the paintings; they give a brief story related to the person depicted.<sup>8</sup> Both texts and pictures are enclosed in medallions that are almost the same size and shape. Some illustrations have relatively long texts that continue on subsequent folios and cover the whole surface of the page.<sup>9</sup> Nine paintings in the *Mecmua* do not have any text at all.<sup>10</sup>

### **Bazaar Painters and Storytellers**

Although the most prominent examples of Ottoman painting were created by artists in the royal workshop, a great corpus of works with a similar iconography but a rather simplified style indicates that paintings were also produced outside the palace. In 1985 Metin And attributed costume albums—pictorial anthologies featuring the sultan, high-ranking officials, and ordinary individuals—to “bazaar painters” (*çarşı ressamları*).<sup>11</sup> He did not discuss the organization of these bazaar painters—who they were, how they worked, and who bought their work, etc. Instead, he drew attention to the style and iconography of their paintings; compared to the lavishly detailed examples of the palace production, they are simpler versions with fewer figures and less detail. The existence of numerous costume albums, most of which are housed in European collections and repeat almost the same iconography and style, indicates that the main task of the bazaar painters was to produce these albums for European clients. However, many of the albums include single-page paintings of young women and men, probably from the court, that date to the seventeenth-century Topkapı Palace treasury,<sup>12</sup> suggesting that similar paintings were probably produced for Ottoman courtiers as well.

The royal workshop’s production of lavishly illustrated manuscripts came to an end after the 1618–22 reign of Osman II, when artists began to produce single-page paintings for courtiers. The end of court patronage probably led to an increase in works by bazaar painters in the city; perhaps these unattached painters were searching for new clients who would be able to purchase their works. Although the term “bazaar painters” is used to describe these city-based artists, it needs to be clarified by detailed research and, in particular, by examining their methods of production. Unfortunately, since the publication of And’s article, there have been no in-depth studies analyzing the bazaar painters, and many scholars in the field have used the term without any reflection.

In addition to the costume albums, a group of single-page album paintings depicting religious and historical personalities and sultans as well as paintings in

royal picture albums have been attributed to the bazaar painters. Banu Mahir has suggested that they might have been made by Ottoman painters in Istanbul for the use of fortunetellers, such as those described by the celebrated author Evliya Çelebi (died 1682),<sup>13</sup> whose account is crucial since it not only is the only known source on bazaar painters but also provides invaluable data that contextualizes these single-page album paintings. According to Çelebi, the *Esnaf-ı Falcıyan-ı Musavvir* (guild of fortune-tellers/diviners) practicing their trade in the Mahmud Pasha Bazaar used images drawn on large, cut, and firm *İstanbuli* (made in Istanbul) paper. They depicted all the heroes and kings of old, a multitude of apostles and prophets, and countless fortresses, war scenes, and the most marvelous naval battles and destruction of ships at sea.<sup>14</sup>

Çelebi also mentioned the *Esnaf-ı Nakkaşan-ı Musavviran*, the guild of illuminators/painters, which had forty members and owned four shops in the marketplace. They made large-sized paintings depicting popular heroes from the oral narrative tradition, portraits of legendary champions and kings of the past, and scenes of combat between two champions. A certain Tâsbâz Pehlivân Ali was renowned for his extraordinary talent, which he displayed in his paintings of the Ottoman conquests of Baghdad and Revan, modern Yeravan.<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately, Tâsbâz Pehlivân Ali's paintings do not survive, but in all likelihood they were related to the seventeenth-century Ottoman visual tradition, of which some examples do survive. Like fortune tellers, storytellers probably used these large and single-page paintings—depicting sultans marching with their attendants and scenes showing the miracles of the prophets—as visual aids while they were narrating tales of Ottoman conquests or other popular stories.

An illustration in the album of the prophet Hamza ibn Abdul-Muttalib (died 625), the paternal uncle of the Prophet Muhammad, seated on the mythical simurgh bird may have been one of those paintings (fig. 1).<sup>16</sup> According to the note at the upper right of the painting, it depicts Hamza when he was flying to Mount Qaf, the mountain where the simurgh was thought to live. Dressed as an Arabian warrior, he is depicted with a big moustache and holding a lion-headed mace in his hand. The size of the painting, larger than the typical manuscript illustration, as well as the topic permit us to speculate that it was used by a storyteller.<sup>17</sup> Hamza's legendary life and extraordinary adventures constituted the contents of the works collectively known as the *Hamzanâme* (Story of Hamza) in folk literature.<sup>18</sup> The *Hamzanâme* is thought to have been born in Persian oral literature and to have survived largely within that tradition. One of the most popular themes among storytellers, it was told and retold in many different versions and many different languages throughout the Islamic world, including Anatolia.<sup>19</sup>





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*Murad IV going on the Baghdad campaign*, Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul, H. 2134, fol. 1a.

Some of the *Hamzanâme* copies preserved at libraries in Istanbul contain records indicating when, by which reciter, and in which coffeehouse they were read.<sup>20</sup> Kâtip Çelebi (died 1657), an Ottoman literary historian, noted that many versions of the tales of Hamza circulated in Istanbul.<sup>21</sup> A story indicating Hamza's popularity among storytellers is recounted by Lâmi'î-zâde Abdullah Çelebi (1472–1537) in his *Letâîf* (Book of wits). According to Abdullah Çelebi, a former storyteller was appointed to pray for a mosque; during his sermon, since he had taken some opium, he suddenly started to recite the story of the prophet Hamza.<sup>22</sup> Although there is no evidence that this painting of the prophet on the simurgh was used as part of a storytelling performance, it is clear that it was a product of the cultural milieu in which Hamza's story was widely circulated.<sup>23</sup>

Similar paintings depicting the sultan marching with his attendants likely were used for the same purpose. One of the most popular themes among Ottoman storytellers was the military exploits of the sultans, and it is surely not a coincidence that the depicted rulers were well known for a considerable number of conquests; Murad II (reigned 1421–44, 1446–51), Mehmed III (reigned 1595–1603), and Murad IV, for example, were frequent subjects. In his *Mecmua* portrait, Murad IV, dressed as an Arabian warrior, sits on his horse surrounded by his attendants



(fig. 2). According to the note on the picture, it depicts the sultan on his way to the Baghdad campaign.<sup>24</sup>

Halil İnalcık suggests that the first Ottoman chronicles, such as *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osmân* (Chronicle of the House of Osman) by Aşık Paşazâde (died after 1484), most probably were written to be read aloud in public.<sup>25</sup> Narratives of bravery may have played a crucial role in encouraging the masses. For instance, the chronicler Na'imâ Mustafa Efendi (died 1716) mentioned that one advantage of narrating stories of bravery, such as Firdawsî's (died 1020) *Shahname* (Book of kings), to the crowd was to encourage and excite them in times of war.<sup>26</sup> Another historian, Celâlzâde Mustafa Efendi (died 1567), stated that the folk poets of Anatolia (*ozan*) would sing, "Go, Sultan Selim, the age is yours," a reference to the bravery of Selim I (reigned 1512–20).<sup>27</sup> Narrating the glorious conquests of the past was a leisure-time activity at the Ottoman court as well. Mehmed IV (reigned 1648–93), for example, ordered chronicler Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa (died 1692) to recite history books relating the conquests of the sultan's predecessors, such as the battle of Çaldıran, which took place between Selim I and Shah Ismail (1487–1524) in 1514.<sup>28</sup> The written sources lead us to speculate that the large-size, single-page paintings might have been used as visual props during the recitation of these conquests. Although it is not known where and how these images were used, all the extant paintings survive in court albums, suggesting that at least these examples were used in court circles. Support for this premise includes some clues on picture recitation in the palace, which will be discussed below. Of course, books were read and their pictures viewed at various other places in Istanbul as well.

### Meeting Places, Audiences, and Picture Recitation

Based mostly on Latîfî's *Risale-i Evsâf-i İstanbul* (Essay on the Description of Istanbul) of 1525 and other contemporary sources, Walter Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı's study of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Ottoman poetry provides a vivid picture of the *meclis* (poetry gathering) in Istanbul. During the *meclis*, poets read their new works, or selections from works of prose, while they enjoyed wine and food that had been prepared for them. One of the most popular pleasure spots in Istanbul was Galata, a European enclave famous for its taverns (*meyhane*), such as the well-known ones ran by Efe and Yani. By the second half of the sixteenth century, coffeehouses had joined the city's gathering places.<sup>29</sup> Gelibolulu Mustafa 'Âli (1541–1600), a famous Ottoman historian and author, describes coffeehouses as the meeting point for people ranging from the well-educated classes (*ehl-i irfân*) to the so-called "idle populace" (discussed below), such as cavalrymen and janissaries seeking gossip.<sup>30</sup> An album painting dated to the turn of the sixteenth century

depicts such a coffeehouse: the customers, who appear to be from different strata of society, sit and enjoy the coffee prepared by a young servant as they read their books.<sup>31</sup> This painting documents that public readings were among the activities of the coffeehouse customers.

Besides taverns and coffeehouses, *bedesten* (marketplaces) and neighborhoods near mosques were used as public spaces for readings in Istanbul. Antoine Galland (1646–1715), a French book collector, wrote that in return for three or five *akçes* (silver coins also known as aspers), readers in the *bedesten* would recite the *Iskandarnâme*, the romance of Alexander the Great, to people seeking entertainment during the long winter nights.<sup>32</sup> A note at the end of a copy of the *Süleymânâme* (Book of Solomon), an anonymous prose version of a folk tale, states that the manuscript was read aloud by Osman Agha during the night of August 17, 1812, near the Sultan Ahmed Mosque, one of the major mosques in Istanbul, built by Sultan Ahmed I (reigned 1603–17).<sup>33</sup>

The houses and gardens of poets and other individuals functioned as meeting places as well. The *meclis* evidently were open to various classes of Ottoman society, including the elite, the well-educated, and the non-slave urban classes. However, people belonging to the lower classes also attended public readings and meetings. Reader notes in the margins of popular storybooks indicate that public readings were among the popular leisure-time activities of the Ottoman “middle class” during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.”<sup>34</sup> A reader’s note at the end of the aforementioned *Süleymânâme* provides invaluable data on the identity of the audience. (It is an example from the nineteenth century but still useful for gaining insight into the audience’s identity.) Among the listeners were a certain Ahmed, son of a tailor, and Münir Molla, a religious man.<sup>35</sup> Since Ahmed is identified by his father’s occupation, he presumably did not yet have a profession of his own. Yet, as the reader’s note documents, this young person and Molla, who apparently belonged to the *ulama* (religious and judicial hierarchy), could have sat side by side during the public reading of popular book. Thus, different classes of people might assemble to listen to a reader.

There is no information about whether or not pictures were definitely used as visual aids during readings for the general public. But a story implying that they were used during the *meclis* was recounted by Kınalızâde Hasan Çelebi (1546/7–1604) in his famous *tezkiye* (biographical dictionary of poets). Kınalızâde writes that he met the famous *şehnameci* (official court historian) Fethullah Ârif, who was known for his many “unusual” innovations in his father’s *meclis*. Ârif brought a picture of a *mahbûb* (beloved) he had made himself, and during the *meclis* wrote a verse couplet for each part of his body.<sup>36</sup> Such information allows us to imagine that paintings were at the very least present at poetic gatherings.

Supporting information related to picture recitation comes from the chronicle by the historian Selânikî (died 1600?). As he recounted, during the circumcision festival of the son of Grand Vizier Cerrah Mehmed Pasha (died 1604) in May 1597, a banquet was given for the statesmen in the *divânîhâne* (a building in the second court of the palace). Wondrous images, allegedly gifts from the Persian ruler, were displayed on curtains and wooden fences in the *Has Oda* (privacy chamber) of the grand vizier, where they could be examined by guests as they listened to music and verbal recitation.<sup>37</sup> In this case, the paintings probably were illustrated by Persian artists, but the single-page paintings by Levnî, a prominent painter of the eighteenth century, suggest that Ottoman artists produced pictures for storytelling performances as well.

In a court album dated 1710–20, forty-two full portraits by Levnî can be identified through the names and professions written on the folios. They include portraits of individuals from the Turkish city of Bursa, such as Yusuf Bey and Shah Mehmed, as well as Persians like Dürşaz Bey. Gül İrepoğlu suggests that these paintings were made to depict certain characters and were used by palace storytellers.<sup>38</sup> Levnî's album includes only one portrait of a sultan, that of Osman II, whose depiction was presumably related to the perception of him by eighteenth-century spectators. To be precise, after his tragic murder in 1622, Osman's story became one of the most popular told by seventeenth-century storytellers, which may be the reason his portrait was included in an album produced sometime during the 1710s. Perhaps he was regarded not only as an Ottoman sultan but also as a fictional character, similar to the others depicted in the album, which would strengthen the argument that Levnî's paintings were used by storytellers. As discussed above, written and visual evidence, although limited, suggests that the tradition of using illustrations during public storytelling and readings existed in both palace and city in the Ottoman Empire.

### The Seventeenth Century

The single-page paintings by bazaar painters that are related to storytelling mostly date from the seventeenth century. At that time, Istanbul was one of the world's most populated cities. During the period between 1600 and 1800, there was urban growth in all regions of the Ottoman Empire. By the middle of the sixteenth century, Istanbul was the largest metropolis in the world, a status it maintained until 1730. Along with the demographic growth, attitudes toward city life and city dwellers also changed. Because country people (*sipahi* and *reaya*) were regarded as ideal social types, their counterparts in the city were disparagingly referred to as city boys (*şehir oğlanları*) by Ottoman authors of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. They were described as the idle populace because they lounged about in coffee-houses, even though the city itself was viewed as a place of pleasure and comfort.



Yet this new class was the main actor in shaping a new cultural structure.<sup>39</sup> A story book titled *Hikâyât-i Sipâhi-yi Kastamonî ve Tûtî* (Story of a Cavalryman Man of Kastamonu and Tûtî) includes the adventures of Kastamonulu Sipahi Ali, a cavalryman from Kastamonu in northern Turkey. The manuscript was probably copied at the beginning of the eighteenth century, although the events must have taken place at the beginning of the seventeenth century; at the end of the story, Sipahi Ali is associated with the famous Grand Vizier Güzelce Ali Pasha who died 1621.<sup>40</sup> According to the text, Sipahi Ali came across a friend in Istanbul. When his friend tried to warn him about a storyteller who was famous for his beauty and a real danger for young men, Ali defended himself as follows: "These dangers are for the city boys such as you. Being in love and to be loved is the most important thing in your life. But we are Turks, and our passion is only for beautiful carpets and horses."<sup>41</sup> Ali's words reveal seventeenth-century Ottoman society perceptions about young urban dwellers and their counterparts in the country. The city boys, described as beloved and as lovers in the story, were part of the culture—the new urban dynamics and the changing demography within Istanbul—that produced and consumed the pictures and books discussed in this essay.

In her inspiring study on book production in Ottoman Cairo, Nelly Hanna states that books became a widespread commodity in the main centers of the Islamic world such as Cairo, Aleppo, Damascus, and Istanbul between the seventeenth and eighteenth century. She adds that the development of a book culture was the result of a combination of different factors, including the economic ability to purchase them, a level of literacy, and last but not least, a decrease in book prices, which was tied to the availability of cheap paper imported mainly from Europe. The production of inexpensive books also created wide job opportunities for copyists. Numerous extant manuscripts from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries suggest that many people were involved in writing and copying them.<sup>42</sup>

The availability of books to the public at large prompted the emergence of a great number of libraries in Istanbul. Several private libraries endowed by the sultans and their households had been in existence in Istanbul before the seventeenth century, but the first public library was established by Grand Vizier Köprülü Mehmed Pasha in 1678.<sup>43</sup> It is interesting to note that compared to earlier centuries, the restrictions on book loans became quite rigid during the seventeenth century. This was a time when taste favored Turkish storybooks, and popular literary works gained an acknowledged place in the cultural mainstream.<sup>44</sup> To protect their collections, librarians enforced strict borrowing conditions on readers, especially in small libraries whose collections consisted of popular books.<sup>45</sup>

The availability of inexpensive paper probably prompted the production of paintings in the bazaar as well. In Ottoman Istanbul, the production of album

paintings reached its real flowering during the seventeenth century.<sup>46</sup> While album production at the palace began as early as the latter part of the sixteenth century, the production of loose-leaf paintings and albums in the real sense became widespread during the reign of Ahmed I. Lavish costume albums were produced both for the Ottoman court and outside the palace,<sup>47</sup> usually for European clients.<sup>48</sup> In the sixteenth century, these costume albums were made by European artists; however, in the seventeenth century, they were produced by Ottoman painters for European consumers. Leslie Meral Schick suggests that costume albums were made to “decode the social structure of societies, and place each individual in his proper position within this structure.” Furthermore, she draws attention to the relationship between the costume albums and literary forms of encyclopedic compilations such as the *tezkire*, *silsilename* (genealogy), and *şehrengiz* (city thriller, a poetic genre listing the beauties and beautiful inhabitants of a city).<sup>49</sup>

The iconography and style of the Paris *Mecmua* reflect all of the characteristics of the cultural milieu in which it was produced; most probably, it was made by the same painters who produced the costume albums. Like them, it includes portraits rather than narrative paintings. However, unlike the costume albums, the *Mecmua* has not only brief notes identifying the individuals but also relatively long stories related to the sitters of the portraits. The costume albums’ short captions are in languages such as Italian and French, to help their European audiences identify the name or profession of the individuals represented. The *Mecmua*’s long narratives are written in Ottoman Turkish, addressed to local spectators and presumably were intended to remind the narrator what he was supposed to say.

Schick points out that in the costume albums, each figure represents a social type belonging to different strata of Ottoman society rather than a specific individual. Each subject is identified by his particular garb and is depicted on a plain ground, devoid of any social context.<sup>50</sup> Most of the figures of the *Mecmua*, however, depict specific individuals who are identified by their names and hometowns. In this way, these illustrations are much more reminiscent of Levni’s single-page portraits. However, the *Mecmua*’s images also share stylistic features with the costume albums. The portraits are depicted on colored plain backgrounds in a more simplified style than are the palace examples. Instead of bright and high-quality pigments seen in the palace works, the painter(s) of the *Mecmua* used pale and inferior quality colors and portrayed the characters in rather stereotypical manner, as opposed to the “accurate” portraits by the court artists.

### **The *Mecmua*: The Heroes of the Stories**

The first group of portraits in the *Mecmua* depicts individuals from different social groups in the city and famous people who lived in the past.<sup>51</sup> In one of these



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3  
Abdurrahman of Bursa, from the *Mecmua*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Turc 140, fol. 15a.

4  
Bektashi dervish, from the *Mecmua*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Turc 140, fol. 13a.

portraits, a young beardless man wearing a red, plain robe and carrying a dagger in his belt stands upright in a respectful pose (fig. 3).<sup>52</sup> According to the text, which is written on the edge of the painting and also on two additional folios, it depicts a certain Abdurrahman, son of a famous merchant, Abdurraûf, who passed away in AH 1012 (1603–4), leaving an enormous estate to his son. After his father's death, young friends who wanted to spend his money surrounded Abdurrahman and told him about a famous and beautiful married woman. He sent her a message and many presents through an intermediary, and asked to be with her one night. Since her husband was away, the young woman accepted him, and they spent the night together. In the morning, Abdurrahman left.<sup>53</sup>

The hero of this story, Abdurrahman, was probably a real person who lived in Bursa rather than an imaginary character. In the course of the seventeenth century, stories derived their themes from daily life and the experiences of city dwellers; “realist folk stories” or “stories written by a [particular] author” became popular in Ottoman literary tradition.<sup>54</sup> Pertev Naili Boratav states that these stories—such as the one about Abdurrahman—were probably written versions of the stories told by the storytellers.<sup>55</sup> Abdurraûf of Bursa was also the protagonist of a famous folk story written by Vahdî Cafer Çelebi at the end of sixteenth century. In this story, Abdurraûf spends all his property on a woman in Isfahan, just like his son.<sup>56</sup> Although I haven't come across another written version of Abdurrahman's story thus far, it is possible to speculate that, inspired by the story about his father, it was created in the oral or written literary tradition of the seventeenth century.

Another portrait in the *Mecmua*, placed within a medallion, depicts a half-naked and beardless Bektashi dervish (fig. 4). He wears a short skirt and a shawl





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5  
*Nûruddehr*, from the *Mecmua*,  
 Bibliothèque nationale de France,  
 Paris, Turc 140, fol. 12b.

on his torso and has bangles on his ankles, an armband, and a small bag on his belt. He also carries a small book in his hand. According to the text written on the edge of the medallion, he was the son of a merchant in Anatolia. He was offended by his father and asked his lover to get a Bektashi outfit for him. After disguising himself as a Bektashi, he traveled with his lover to Iran and other countries.<sup>57</sup>

Young lovers, usually from the artisan or merchant class, who were offended by society and left their cities disguised as dervishes were popular protagonists in the seventeenth century. For instance, a tale in Nev'izâde 'Atayî's *Heft Han* (The Seven Stories), written in 1627, recounts the adventures of Taysîb, the son of a jeweler, and Tahir, the son of a merchant. They grew up together, and when they reached maturity, they became interested in love, wine, and music. After their fathers passed away, they started roaming the taverns of the Galata district and other pleasure spots of Istanbul. They spent all of their inheritance quickly and found themselves destitute. All of their friends began to disappear and even to censure them. In dervish outfits, they boarded a ship and went to Egypt to become Sufis. Their story continues with many adventures<sup>58</sup> and is reminiscent of stories of the heroes in the *Mecmua*: Abdurrahman, who belonged to the merchant class and spent his inheritance very quickly, and the Bektashi dervish who had been offended by his father. This suggests that the individuals depicted in the *Mecmua* were protagonists of the stories that were read and told in the seventeenth century.

On another page, a young beardless man in a long dress is depicted sitting in a tree, looking very upset (fig. 5). According to the text written on the edge of the medallion, this is Nûruddehr, son of Mîrhân. After spending years in the service of the Timurid ruler Sultan Husayn (reigned 1470–1506), Nûruddehr

was killed by the sultan himself. Although the narrator states that Nûruddehr's story has been cited in the biographies of poets, he does not give any additional details.<sup>59</sup>

All the individuals depicted in the portraits, some of whom are unfamiliar to modern readers, were probably well known to seventeenth-century spectators. Their identities and the nature of the narratives recall the *şehrengiz* (city thriller) genre that was introduced into the Ottoman literary tradition in the sixteenth century. In these city thrillers, verse narratives described certain types of urban dwellers, like the *kazı-asker* (military judge), *ma'zûl* (civil servant), *ulak* (courier), *meddâh* (storyteller), and *cânbâz* (acrobat) as well as the beautiful inhabitants of Turkish cities such as Istanbul, Bursa, and Edirne.<sup>60</sup> Schick was the first to draw attention to the similarities between pictorial albums and city thrillers. The important point for this study is that the city thrillers were read aloud in the *meclis* and at various other spots in the city.

A clue supporting this observation comes from the introduction to the *şehrengiz* of 'Azizi Mısri (died 1585). Speaking of a *meclis* that took place at his home, he relates that he and his guests:

At times from journal and book of days  
We read out works of prose and praise  
Now, joy-enhancing poems we read  
From city-thriller tomes we read  
A city thriller was read aloud  
One of the party guests avowed.<sup>61</sup>

Similarly, 'Azizi Mustafa Efendi of Yedikule (died 1585) recorded how he came to write his book: one day, while reading a city thriller aloud at a meeting of poets, one of his friends asked him to write his own version about the beautiful women of Istanbul.<sup>62</sup>

City thrillers were probably read in the periphery of the city as well. Zdenka Veselá, for example, mentions an anonymous treatise housed in the Brno State Archive, Czech Republic. From the verses excerpted in the article, it is clear that it must be a copy or an updated version of the *Şehrengîz-i Fakîrî*, written by Fakîrî in 1534–35. After analyzing the text, Veselá proposes that this text was most probably written to be read aloud in the suburbs of the city.<sup>63</sup> Although it is hard to know the exact relationship between the city thrillers and the *Mecmua*, they both belonged to the same cultural environment. We can imagine that when a city thriller was read aloud, the audience might have looked at the pictures of an album depicting the same or similar individuals as those being described.



6



7

6  
The fight of Rustam and the White Div, from the *Mecmua*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Turc 140, fol. 12a.

7  
Osman II and his courtiers, from the *Mecmua*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Turc 140, fol. 20b.

Because of its subject matter, another portrait in the *Mecmua* seems even more likely to have been used by a storyteller. It illustrates the fight in a dark cave between Rustam and the White Div (*Div-i Sefid*), one of the most popular themes of Firdawsi's celebrated *Shahnama*.<sup>64</sup> In the painting, Rustam, wearing lion-headed headgear and traditional outfits, is depicted lying on the *div* (demon) (fig. 6). The text is a brief story about the combat.<sup>65</sup> As is well known, the *Shahnama* was one of the leading tales recounted by storytellers. Furthermore, an ability to memorize its tales was regarded as a determining factor in being a successful storyteller.<sup>66</sup> In Iranian oral tradition, there were people called *Shahnama-khan* (*Shahnama* reciter [reader]) a word that evolved into designation as a storyteller and was used as a synonym for it.<sup>67</sup> This painting might have been one of the examples mentioned by Evliya Çelebi, who noted that paintings depicting *Shahnama* heroes such as Zal and Neriman or Rustam and Afrasiyab in combat hung on the walls of painters' workshops in the bazaar.<sup>68</sup>

### The *Mecmua*: The Rulers of the Past

The second group of portraits in the *Mecmua* illustrates Ottoman sultans and courtiers. In contrast to the first group, the texts here are much longer and continue onto successive page(s). However, like the first group, some of the portraits have short notes identifying the person depicted.

The most interesting portrait in this group depicts Sultan Osman II with his courtiers (fig. 7). The account following the illustration is the longest text in the manuscript, and the iconography is different from that of other portraits in the *Mecmua*. The text narrates the murder of Osman II by his soldiers stationed in



Istanbul,<sup>69</sup> which was one of the most exceptional events in seventeenth-century Ottoman history and was still fresh in people's minds at the time the *Mecmua* was produced.

After the soldiers deposed the sultan, they enthroned his uncle as Mustafa I. Osman II was then murdered on May 20, 1622, in the Seven Towers, the prison where prestigious captives were kept. This was the first clear-cut regicide in Ottoman history.<sup>70</sup> Soon afterward, the first narrative of the incident was written by Hüseyin bin Sefer, a retired janissary known by the pen name Tûghî. It was the janissary corps that were implicated in the murder of Osman II.<sup>71</sup>

As recent studies have shown, Tûghî's chronicle was written to establish the innocence of the janissaries blamed for the murder. Different editions of the chronicle were written within the course of a year following the regicide.<sup>72</sup> Scholars in the field, such as Gabriel Piterberg and Baki Tezcan, have proposed that Tûghî's chronicle was used by storytellers<sup>73</sup>; Tezcan goes further and argues that Tûghî was a folk poet. The dirge on the murder of Osman in the chronicle was written in a certain form of folk poetry (*semai*) and was meant to be sung. Since poets usually recited the *semai* while strumming a stringed instrument such as a *saz*, one can imagine that Tûghî played such an instrument as well.<sup>74</sup>

Tezcan says that Tûghî was also a *meddâh*, which has two meanings. Literally, it means eulogist, but it evolved to mean "public storyteller" as well. According to Tezcan, the pen name Tûghî is the most telling clue that he was a storyteller. Tûghî is the adjectival form of *tûgh*, which usually refers to a horsetail attached to a helmet or flagstaff as a sign of rank. It also was one of the tools of a *meddâh* because it was waved by the storyteller to attract listeners and to coordinate the crowd that developed.<sup>75</sup> What is even more important is that he wrote his chronicle to be read aloud to an audience.

Tûghî's text was used by seventeenth-century Ottoman historians, such as Na'îmâ and Kâtip Çelebi.<sup>76</sup> It is significant that the many surviving editions show that the tale was very popular among the storytellers in the years following the regicide. In the popular mind, it was more than the killing of a sultan, it was the tragic murder of an eighteen-year-old sultan.

The text associated with the portrait of Osman II in the *Mecmua* is not a copy of Tûghî's chronicle, but there are indications that the anonymous writer was a supporter of the janissary corps. According to the text, Osman was a very young and enthusiastic sultan and was fooled by his courtiers into conducting a military assault on Khotin (in modern-day Ukraine) and Moscow; the courtiers did this because they were very excited about the possibility of getting rich from war booty. After deciding to go to war, Osman charged Grand Vizier Yemişçi Hasan Pasha (died 1603) with making the necessary preparations.<sup>77</sup>

Up to this point, there are two historical mistakes in the narrative. First, Osman's main aim was to go only to Khotin, not Moscow. Second, Yemişçi Hasan Pasha was not Osman's grand vizier. He had been killed in a janissary revolt in 1603, eighteen years earlier. These mistakes may reflect the author's real concerns.

Tezcan argues that Osman's military campaign against Poland was probably an ambitious one. In addition to besieging Khotin Castle, he probably also wanted to reach Krakow because that would have given the Ottomans an invaluable base of operations for an attack on Vienna, an important target for Ottomans since the reign of Süleyman I (reigned 1520–66).<sup>78</sup> Tezcan states that unfortunately one will never know what the real target of the campaign might have been. But in the *Mecmua*, when the anonymous writer of the text mentions Moscow, we see the rumors in Istanbul finding expression in a popular narrative and perhaps revealing the sultan's real target. Although the sultan's aim was not to besiege Moscow, this inaccurate information implies that the people of Istanbul were at least aware of his ambitious plans. Furthermore, the *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî*, a verse account of the Khotin campaign written by Ottoman poet Ganizâde Nâdirî (1572–1627), records that the prince of the Poland, who was also governor of Moscow, led the army since the king was old and sick during the siege.<sup>79</sup> This may be a possible reason Moscow is mentioned in the *Mecmua*'s text.

Another question is, why would the late Yemişçi Hasan Pasha be described as Osman's grand vizier? Didn't the author know who the sultan's grand vizier was? Even if that were true, why did he choose someone who died at least eighteen years before the Khotin campaign began?

Yemişçi Hasan Pasha was the grand vizier of Ahmed I from 1601 to 1603 and one of the most influential courtiers of his time. He was appointed leader of the janissary corps twice, in 1594 and 1595. His promotion into the hierarchy of the military system was not appropriate since he was appointed by the grand vizier instead of then-Sultan Murad III. He might have been well-known to the public because of the uprising of the Kapukulu Sipahisi (the six cavalry troops of the palace), who rose against him at the Hippodrome (Atmeydanı) in 1603. Hasan Pasha quelled this uprising, and many of the cavalymen were killed.<sup>80</sup> Yemişçi Hasan Pasha is described as Osman's vizier in another folk story, probably created in the seventeenth century and placed in a different *mecmua* used by eighteenth-century storytellers.<sup>81</sup> Although it is impossible to know the reason the authors of the stories made him the fictitious vizier, it is certain that he had become a story character in the social memory of the seventeenth-century Ottoman public.

After Osman's unsuccessful campaign on Khotin, he blamed the janissaries for the failure. According to the narrative, Osman had his craftsmen build twenty boats for his *bostancı* officers (who oversaw the palace garden and served as the his

personal guards) and five special boats for himself. He took the boats and started visiting the famous taverns of Istanbul with 150 *bostancı* officers. On the first day, they went to the neighborhood of Kumkapı. All of the janissaries boarded the boat as well and were taken to the pier of Fenerbahçe on the Anatolian side of the city, where they were thrown into the sea and drowned. After resting for two days, the sultan and his companies visited the taverns of the Galata district; they picked up all the janissaries they could find, took them to Fenerbahçe, and threw them into the sea with stones tied to their throats. The sultan took a break of five or ten days in the palace. Then he and his *bostancı* officers went to the Balat district; this time, without determining who was or was not a janissary, they took everyone to Fenerbahçe and threw them into the sea. In the end, one thousand or two thousand people were killed.<sup>82</sup>

According to the text, the drowning of the janissaries was the principal reason for the murder of Osman II, a statement that is repeated again and again. The repetition might have increased the anger and excitement of the storyteller's audience and emphasized the reasons underlying the sultan's death. Although Osman's punishment of the janissaries is mentioned in the official histories of the time, none of them give details. They briefly mention that Osman II went to the taverns to find the janissaries; however, they do not describe his actions or provide the names of the neighborhoods. On the contrary, they put the blame on the courtiers and accused them of misleading the sultan.<sup>83</sup> However, Tûghî's description of the punishment of the janissaries corresponds to the *Mecmua*'s text.<sup>84</sup> Because this event took place in the city, it probably had more of an effect on the urban public of Istanbul, specifically the janissaries, than on the court. In other words, it was more important in popular culture than in courtly culture.

At the end of the narrative, the janissaries are acquitted. According to the text, they only wanted to depose Osman II and enthrone Mustafa I, but Mustafa's mother persuaded them that if Osman was left alive he would take revenge.<sup>85</sup> Thus, Mustafa's mother is ultimately blamed for the murder. It may have been very fitting for the storyteller's male audience to blame a woman for this murder.

Another mistake in the narrative records Mustafa I as Osman's brother.<sup>86</sup> In fact, we know that Mustafa I was the uncle of Osman II. When Ahmed I died in 1617, there was a change in the Ottoman hereditary tradition; instead of his son Osman, the eldest member of the dynasty, Ahmed's brother Mustafa, was appointed to the throne. Due to his mental illness, however, Mustafa reigned only three months, and Osman II was appointed to the throne in 1618.<sup>87</sup> Although this was an untraditional event in Ottoman history, it is obvious that the author of the *Mecmua* was unaware of it, since he recorded Mustafa I as Osman's brother.



Osman II going on the Khotin campaign, from the *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî*, written by Ganizâde Nâdirî, Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul, H. 1124, fols. 50v–51a.



As we can see, the narrative that accompanied the portrait of Osman II was far from “formal” history; it was adapted to meet the expectations of the audience. All of the emphasis of the narration helps to acquit the janissaries blamed for the sultan’s murder. I am not suggesting here that the storyteller or the author was a janissary like Tûghî, but rather that the narrative originated in the same political climate in which Tûghî created his text. The author probably narrated an oral story that arose from Tûghî’s text and that subsequently spread in the oral literary tradition. However, it can certainly be suggested that the audience of the *Mecmua* would not have been displeased with the emphasis of the narration.

In the illustration (fig. 7), the sultan sits on a throne, surrounded by the courtiers who played a role in his murder. To be precise, the janissary standing on the right side of the sultan is the one responsible for the uprising that led to the murder. The *bostancı* officer next to the janissary helped the sultan punish the janissaries. The black figure behind the sultan is the *dârüssaâde ağası*, the chief black eunuch of the harem; in Ottoman sources, he was among the courtiers accused of misleading the sultan. However, in the text of the *Mecmua*, he is not mentioned. Instead, as stated before, Yemişçi Hasan Pasha is the one accused. At this point, image and text have acquired a different character.

The iconography of Osman’s portrait in this context differs in most respects from the illustrations in other manuscripts of this period. For instance, a double-page painting of *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî*, written by Ganizâde Nâdirî, includes a verse account of the military campaign against Khotin and was probably illustrated in





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Murad II, from the *Mecmua*,  
Bibliothèque nationale de France,  
Paris, Turc 140, fol. 17b.

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Bayezid II, from the *Mecmua*,  
Bibliothèque nationale de France,  
Paris, Turc 140, fol. 7b.



10

the royal workshop soon after the campaign.<sup>88</sup> In the portrait (fig. 8), likely executed by a painter who was an eyewitness to the event, Osman is portrayed as a beardless young man on his horse, leading his army, similar to depictions of him in single-page portraits produced in the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>89</sup>

In the *Mecmua* painting, Osman II looks older; he has a moustache and is kneeling on the throne. In an album painting dated to the same period that was likely used as a visual aid during storytelling performances, Osman is depicted with a moustache as well.<sup>90</sup> Portraits of sultans sitting on thrones are very common in the iconography of seventeenth-century Ottoman painting; kneeling, however, is rarely seen. The first portrait series of Ottoman sultans occurs in *Kıyâfetü'l-insâniye fî Şemâ'ilü'l-osmâniye* (The Human Physiognomy and the Likeness of the Ottomans) or *Şemâilnâme* (Book of Fine Features), written for Murad III in 1579 by Lokman Aşuri, the official historian of the court, and illustrated with portraits of the first twelve sultans by Nakkaş Osman, the famous sixteenth-century painter. The *Şemâilnâme* was meant to be prepared as a model book for the "accurate" depiction of the sultans.<sup>91</sup> Gülru Necipoğlu argues that imperial iconography is seen in its portraits and that the Ottoman sultans who are depicted kneeling were captured in battle.<sup>92</sup> So it should be asked: is the *Mecmua*'s depiction of a kneeling Osman II simply a coincidence? Or was it an example of a reinterpreted imperial iconographic model used outside of the court context, that is, in the bazaar?

One clue supporting the premise that bazaar painters reinterpreted palace models can be seen in the image of the imperial ship in the *Taeschner Album*, produced in the second half of the seventeenth century and attributed to bazaar painters. A parallel image is in the *Şehnâme-i Nâdiri* as well.<sup>93</sup> The painting in the *Taeschner*



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12

11

Murad II, from the *Şemâinâme*, written by Seyyid Lokman, Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul, H. 1563, fol. 44a.

12

Bayezid II, *Şemâinâme*, written by Seyyid Lokman, Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul, H. 1563, fol. 50a.

*Album* was a simplified version of the one in the *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî*, and it is likely that bazaar painters employed masters from the palace workshops or used their copies as models.<sup>94</sup>

Although the *Mecmua* painter was familiar with the traditional Ottoman iconography, he was probably not acquainted with Osman's physiognomy. The painter might have seen depictions of earlier sultans since portraits in the *Şemâinâme* set precedents for artists working in both the court workshop and the bazaar. When the *Mecmua* was executed, the iconography of the court models were already circulating in the city. However, lack of time may have prevented the circulation of accurate, palace-produced portraits of Osman II to the city-based artists. In fact, the portraits of the other sultans in the *Mecmua* support this suggestion in different ways.

Portraits of Bayezid I, Murad II, Bayezid II, and Selim II are included in the *Mecmua*. Murad II (1404–1451; fig. 9) and Bayezid II (1447–1512; fig. 10) are depicted sitting on pillows in positions very similar to the portraits by Nakkaş Osman in the *Şemâinâme* manuscripts (figs. 11–12). The forms of the headgear worn by the sultans are also identical to those in the *Şemâinâme*; headgear was an important attribute for identifying a specific sultan in Ottoman portrait iconography. The *Mecmua*'s equestrian portrait of Bayezid I (1360–1403) is different from that of the *Şemâinâme*; yet he has the same facial features in both portraits. It is possible that the painter of the *Mecmua* had access to copies or sketches of the portraits of earlier



sultans produced by court painters and that by the time the *Mecmua* was produced, those copies had already spread outside the court. However, the bazaar painters probably did not have access to copies of portraits of Osman II produced by the royal workshops.

As mentioned earlier, in this *Mecmua*, text and image are enclosed in medallions; the text gives brief information about the sultan depicted on the next page. However, every text has its own story and emphasis. For instance, Murad II is presented as an important patron of architecture, and the narrative mentions buildings he erected in Bursa and Edirne.<sup>95</sup> This is similar to other Ottoman sources in which his architectural patronage was highly praised.<sup>96</sup> The text accompanying the portrait of Selim II (1524–1574) mentions the Selimiye Mosque, which is regarded not only as his most important work but also as the most prestigious example of Ottoman architecture.<sup>97</sup> The emphasis on such architectural accomplishments indicates the expectations of the audience: descriptions of architectural patronage were probably the simplest way to remind the public about sultans from the past.

In the text about Murad II, the famous Ottoman vizier Mahmud Pasha (died 1474) is introduced as the sultan's grand vizier and also as a saint endowed with extraordinary talents. Mahmud Pasha was one of the most influential viziers in Ottoman history. Although there is a debate about his origin in the sources, he was probably Serbian and descended from some of the greatest Byzantine aristocratic families. Information about his arrival at the palace is also unclear, but he was probably educated at the court and then presented to Murad II. Later he entered into the service of young Prince Mehmed, the future Sultan Mehmed II. He occupied different posts at the palace. Although the date of his appointment as grand vizier is uncertain, he was certainly an important actor during Mehmed's the siege of Istanbul in 1453.<sup>98</sup>

The life of the powerful vizier became one of the most popular themes of Ottoman *menâkıbnâme* literature (hagiographical narratives about legendary individuals). The *Menâkıb-ı Mahmud Paşa* (Hagiography of Mahmud Pasha) was probably written during the sixteenth century. We have no information about *Menâkıb-ı Mahmud Paşa*'s author or the exact date it was composed. There are eleven extant copies of the legend, most housed in the libraries of Istanbul; the earliest dated manuscript was copied in 1564.<sup>99</sup> What is important for this study is that there is a textual link between the *Mecmua* and *Menâkıb-ı Mahmud Paşa*. The *Mecmua* relates that Mahmud Pasha was the grand vizier of Murad II and that his extraordinary miracles were witnessed in Edirne.<sup>100</sup> Although Mahmud came to the court during the reign of Murad II, he was probably appointed as grand vizier by Murad's successor, Mehmed II. So, what was the source of the "incorrect" information used by the anonymous writer of this text?



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İbrâhîm Khânzâde, from the  
*Mecmua*, Bibliothèque nationale de  
France, Paris, Turc 140, fol. 29b.

Similarly, the *Menâkıb-ı Mahmud Paşa* relates that Sultan Murad appointed Mahmud Pasha grand vizier—which is one of the inaccuracies in the text—because he was very knowledgeable and virtuous.<sup>101</sup> He kept that position for three years and administered the state with justice. Then one day, after Mahmud Pasha was slandered by his enemies, Sultan Murad ordered the grand vizier's arrest and execution. At the moment of his execution, Mahmud Pasha suddenly disappeared, and there were rumors that he had saved himself by magic.<sup>102</sup>

It is interesting to note that the *menakib* (legendary story) of Mahmud Pasha was one of the most popular narratives recited by storytellers in Anatolia. In the oral tradition, Mahmud Pasha became a saint, and many fictitious episodes were added to the story during the time the *Mecmua* was produced.<sup>103</sup> Mahmud Pasha is not depicted in the *Mecmua*; however, he is mentioned in the narrative about Murad II. The incorporation of his life into the *Mecmua* indicates its connection to the oral narrative tradition.

Another intriguing hero in this second group of portraits depicting the rulers and nobles of the past is a link to rumors or legends that were told in the city. In a painting of an Ottoman courtier, the figure stands upright in a medallion (fig. 13).<sup>104</sup> He wears an armless, fur-collared robe and a tall turban. According to the note over the medallion, this is İbrâhîm Khânzâde, the son of İsmihân Sultan (died 1585) by her first marriage to Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha

(1505–1579).<sup>105</sup> İsmihân Sultan was the daughter of Selim II. Although İbrâhîm Khânzâde's descendants formed an important family in the history of the Ottoman house, it is interesting to come across his portrait in the *Mecmua* since he was also a chief subject of the rumors that were spread in Istanbul, as we will see below.

Toward the end of the seventeenth century, a rumor arose: if the Ottoman dynasty were to die out, the İbrâhîm Khânzâde family would succeed to the throne, and henceforth the sultans were bound to respect the life of every member of the Khânzâde family.<sup>106</sup> Similarly, in the year of 1703, after the Edirne incident—in which the people of Istanbul rose against and deposed Sultan Mustafa II (reigned 1695–1703)—a council gathered to decide who would be heir to the throne. Some rebels, opposed to the heirs of Sultan Mehmed IV, Mustafa's father, suggested the khan of the Crimea or a member of İbrâhîm Khânzâde's lineage as an alternative.<sup>107</sup> The depiction of İbrâhîm Khânzâde in the *Mecmua* may have been related to this rumor, which was widespread in the city. The illustration does not include any accompanying narrative, which indicates that İbrâhîm Khânzâde's story may have been well known to the audience of the *Mecmua*.

Ottoman sources indicate that succession was a problem as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century. When Ahmed I succeeded to the throne, his son-in-law and grand vizier Nasuh Pasha (died 1614) invited Mehmed Giray, the khan of the Crimea, to take the throne instead. Once he discovered Nasuh Pasha's intentions, the sultan immediately imprisoned Mehmed Giray in the Yedikule Fortress.<sup>108</sup> The same problem arose during the overthrow of Osman II. Tûghî put all of the blame for Osman's murder on Dâvud Pasha (died 1623), the vizier and brother-in-law of Sultan Mustafa, and further states that Dâvud Pasha intended to end the rule of the Ottoman crown princes in an alliance with the chief black eunuch of the court.<sup>109</sup> Thus, although İbrâhîm Khânzâde's family was suggested as an alternative option for the Ottoman throne at the end of the seventeenth century, the existence of his portrait in the *Mecmua* allows us to speculate that members of his family were seen as a threat as early as the middle of the century, at least in public opinion.

The second group of portraits in the *Mecmua* includes an interesting depiction of a figure on his horse; it is enclosed in a medallion (fig. 14). Unlike the subjects of the other portraits in the manuscript, he wears a crown, indicating that he is not an Ottoman sultan. However, his armless, fur-collared caftan is reminiscent of the ones worn by Ottoman dignitaries. In the note written around the medallion, he is identified as Râşunhova, *çasar* of Nemçe (king of Austria), who made a peace treaty with Sultan Süleyman the Lawgiver.<sup>110</sup> Râşunhova is also mentioned in a later text about Süleyman I.<sup>111</sup> According to the text, during the first twenty-eight years





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14  
Râşunhova, from the *Mecmua*,  
Bibliothèque nationale de France,  
Paris, Turc 140, fol. 8b.

of Süleyman's forty-eight-year reign (more inaccurate information, as he ruled for forty-six years), he conquered many castles and cities. His triumphant conquests led to a peace treaty with Râşunhova that was so profitable, Süleyman and his heirs enjoyed lifelong benefits as a result.<sup>112</sup> However, there is neither a Râşunhova nor someone with a similar sounding name among Austrian kings; this may refer to Süleyman's contemporary, Ferdinand I (1503–1564) from the house of Habsburg. Ferdinand made a five-year peace treaty with the sultan in June 1547 that confirmed the territorial status quo and also instituted an annual payment of thirty thousand ducats as a tribute to Süleyman.<sup>113</sup> I have not come across any clue to Râşunhova's identity but presume that was the name given to Ferdinand by Turkish commoners. It is clear that the author of the text was unaware of the formal history; the inaccurate information strengthens the assumption that popular stories were the sources for the *Mecmua* narratives. Recent studies on oral traditions support this assumption. For instance, Adam Fox, in his study on the oral and literate culture in England, states, "There was a tendency to 'telescope,' to shorten or omit the entire portions of the past. For most people their understanding of times long ago was vague and episodic: theirs was a history with little sense of chronology, in which names and places, dates and events could be hopelessly conflated and confused ... When the short limits of memory were exhausted, myth began."<sup>114</sup>

Unfortunately, there are no prototypes that allow us to compare İbrâhîm Khânzâde's and Râşunhova's portraits in the *Mecmua* with examples from the court. However, further analysis of images and text featuring Ottoman sultans, excluding Osman II, shows that although the physiognomy, outfits, and postures were mostly based on imperial iconography, the texts were enriched by the oral tradition. The question is, why were these discrepancies incorporated into the same manuscript?

### The Court and the City

The character of the *Mecmua*'s text and images strongly suggests that it was a product of city culture rather than court circles. Although it is beyond the scope of this article to discuss the boundaries of elite and popular culture, it may be useful to point out comments from scholars on this matter. Peter Burke, in his work on popular culture in early modern Europe, criticizes the perception of the "little tradition"<sup>115</sup> as belonging to the non-elite. He argues that this definition is too narrow because it omits upper-class participation in popular culture, which most definitely occurred at festivals. In towns, nobles and commoners attended the same carnivals and sermons. Clowns—usually the same people—were popular both at courts and taverns. According to Burke, the two great and little traditions in early modern Europe did not correspond symmetrically to the two main social groups, the elite and the commoners.<sup>116</sup> Likewise, Hanna draws attention to the difficulties of establishing the boundaries between an educated culture, a mass culture, and a popular culture in terms of book consumption. She relates that the culture of the well-educated, well-read, urban middle class differed from that of the court and the learned culture of *ulama* as well as from popular culture.<sup>117</sup> As argued before, while the *meclis* were open primarily to the members of the well-educated class, there were also readings for ordinary people.

In the Ottoman context, the interaction between palace and city relates to the movement of people.<sup>118</sup> The portable nature of manuscripts and single-page paintings allowed them to be widely available in both the court and the city. For instance, according to the reader's notes in a storybook titled *Hikâye-i Firuzşâh* (Story of Firuzsah), the manuscript was read aloud in the Enderun (Inner section) of Topkapı Palace as well as houses in Istanbul at different times.<sup>119</sup> It is more than likely that the books' portable nature enabled their widespread usage throughout Istanbul.

Other types of objects produced for the court were also accessible to city dwellers. Stephan Gerlach, who visited Istanbul as chaplain of the Hapsburg embassy in 1577, stated that because the royal treasury collections were so extensive, there was no space to house new objects. Many of them were sold in the bazaar, includ-

ing manuscripts and the turban of Selim I.<sup>120</sup> This might have been one way images from the court were spread throughout the city. In addition, storytellers and book owners traveled throughout the empire, and many of them were in close contact with the palace. İsmâîl Belîğ (1668–1729), the Ottoman author who compiled a biographical compendium of the famous people of Bursa, gives vivid information about the storytellers, including La'în Kabâ, a storyteller who lived during the reign of Murad III; after traveling all over the world, he stopped in Istanbul.<sup>121</sup> Another famous storyteller from Bursa, Kurbânî Alîsî, also went to Istanbul and joined the entourage of Geredeli Hasan Pasha, who helped the storyteller to gain acceptance into the sultan's court. For a time, Hasan Pasha lost his prestigious position and power and, as a result, Kurbânî Alîsî left the palace and went back to Bursa. After his departure, court officials realized that a *murassa divit* (special pen adorned with precious materials) belonging to the sultan was missing and accused the storyteller of stealing it.<sup>122</sup> We do not know whether or not Kurbânî Alîsî stole the pen, but the important point is that he clearly had access to the sultan's personal objects when he was staying at the palace.

Painters also may have played a crucial role. We have no precise information on the bazaar painters' methods of working or on whether court artists interacted with city-based painters. Yet it seems likely that the movement of people between the palace and the city as well as the transportable nature of paintings and illustrated manuscripts facilitated their dispersal in Istanbul and even farther afield, as we shall see. The iconographic similarities between the court paintings and the bazaar paintings prompt us to speculate that the royal visual model was not as transformed in the city context as the royal textual model, which was constantly reinterpreted. Needless to say, analyzing one example is not enough to evaluate the complex relationship between the court and the city in the seventeenth-century Ottoman milieu. The movement of people who used images and texts during this period was also more complex than indicated by the one relationship I have outlined here. The next question to answer is where precisely this *Mecmua* may have been used.

### Searching a Place for the *Mecmua*

The *Mecmua* text related to the portrait of Bayezid the Thunderbolt (Bayezid I) describes the Battle of Ankara that took place between Bayezid and Tamerlane (1386–1405), emphasizing the sultan's fierce character. According to the narrative, Bayezid was defeated, Timur took him prisoner, and subsequently Bayezid was rescued by his son, Mehmed.<sup>123</sup> However, according to the historical record, Bayezid died as Tamerlane's prisoner in Akşehir; he either had an illness or, according to some sources, committed suicide by taking poison. His body was



then taken to Bursa and buried there. The happy ending in the *Mecmua*, in contrast, was probably created for the approval of the storyteller's audience, who might have been unhappy to learn the real, tragic, and "dishonorable" story about the sultan. It might also even have been physically dangerous for the storyteller to provide such a tragic ending.

In fact, İsmâil Belîğ, the aforementioned biographer of Bursa, relates an interesting story about the reaction of an audience. In 1616 at a coffeehouse in Bursa, a storyteller was telling the popular story of a fight between Bedî' and Kâsım, two of Hamza's sons. While some listeners were supporters of Bedî', others were on the side of Kâsım. In the audience were the famous blind poet Haylî Çelebi and Saçakçızâde, another storyteller. Haylî Çelebi was a passionate supporter of Kâsım, and when the storyteller mentioned Kâsım's name, he clapped his hands in excitement. At this, Saçakçızâde, mocking the poet's blindness, asked how Haylî Çelebi could have seen that Kâsım was right? At that point, the poet fiercely attacked Saçakçızâde with a dagger and killed him. This indicates the level of intensity and excitement that an audience could reach during storytelling performances.<sup>124</sup> Similarly, the end of the *Süleymânnâme* includes a note that states that during a reading, there was a fight among the listeners, since each one took the side of a different hero in the story. At the end of the fight, one of the listeners wanted to tear up the manuscript but was ashamed to do so in the presence of Münir Molla, a well-respected person in the crowd.<sup>125</sup>

It is thus entirely understandable that the storyteller composed a fictitious ending to the story about Bayezid the Thunderbolt. More important, after telling about Bayezid's rescue by his son, the author says, "the sultan died in this place." As we know, Bayezid I was buried in Bursa, so we can assume that the author's statement was referring to that city and that our *Mecmua* therefore probably was a chapbook used by a storyteller from there as well.

Bursa, the capital between 1326 and 1362, was one of the prominent cultural centers in the empire's history.<sup>126</sup> İsmâil Belîğ implied that there was ample opportunity there for the employment of storytellers. Evliya Çelebi spoke highly of the city's coffeehouses; there were seventy-five of them in total, and each one was a destination for well-educated people. The coffeehouses also were full of talented storytellers such as Kurbânî Alisi Hamza and Şerif Çelebi, who was very gifted at reciting the stories of the *Shahname*. The most famous one in Bursa was the Emîr Coffeehouse, located next to the Grand Mosque. In addition, Evliya Çelebi records that after Murad IV banned coffeehouses in Istanbul, the storytellers moved to Bursa, after which the city became renowned for its coffeehouses.<sup>127</sup> As stated at the beginning of this article, the *Mecmua* was probably produced during the reign of Murad IV. Therefore we may plausibly suggest that this *Mecmua* was used as

a chapbook by a storyteller who moved to Bursa after the sultan's ban on coffee-houses in Istanbul. Bursa, with its lively environment, might have made a good place for our *Mecmua*.

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## NOTES

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- 2 *Mecmua*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Turc 140 (hereafter *Mecmua*); for catalogue information see E. Blochet, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Turcs I* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1932–33), pp. 57–58. According to the handwritten note in French on the first folio of the *Mecmua*, it was owned by Paul Lucas (1664–1737), a famous French merchant, naturalist, physician, and antiquarian, in 1718. He traveled extensively in Greece, Turkey, the Levant, and Egypt and probably bought the *Mecmua* during his journey in Turkey. Another note on the same folio gives March 27, 1878, as the date of purchase by the Bibliothèque nationale de France; there is also a stamp from the Bibliothèque regiae.
- 3 *Mecmua*, fols. 1b–4a.
- 4 The list of the illustrations: fols. 5a, “Bayezid I”; 7b, “Bayezid II”; 8b, “Râşunhova”; 9b, “Selim II and His Pages”; 11b, “Elephant”; 12a, “The Combat of Rüstem and Akvandev”; 12b, “Nûruddehr”; 13a, “Dervish”; 14b, “A person with a pipe”; 15a, “Abdurrahman of Bursa”; 17b, “Murad II”; 18b, “A Bunch of Flowers in a Vase”; 19a, “Falcon”; 19b, “A Cooking Mother and Her Child”; 20a, “Lovers”; 20b, “A Group Portrait of Osman II and His Courtiers”; 29a, “A Woman Covered by a Veil”; 29b, “İbrâhîm Khânzâde”; 30a, “A Groom and His Horse.”
- 5 *Mecmua*, fols. 5a, 7b, 8b, 9b, 11b, 12a–b, 13a, 17b, 20a–b, 29b, 30a.
- 6 *Mecmua*, fols. 14b, 15a, 19b.
- 7 *Mecmua*, fols. 18b, 19a, 29a.
- 8 *Mecmua*, fols. 5a, 7b, 8b, 9b, 17b, 20b.
- 9 *Mecmua*, fols. 12a, 15a, 20b.
- 10 *Mecmua*, fols. 11b, 14b, 18b, 19a–b, 20a, 29a–b, 30a.
- 11 Metin And, “17. Yüzyıl Türk Çarşı Ressamları,” *Tarih ve Toplum* 6 (1985), pp. 40–45; see also Metin And, “17. Yüzyıl Türk Çarşı Ressamlarının Padişah Portereleri,” *Türkiyemiz* 58 (1989), pp. 4–13.
- 12 Güner İnal, “Tek Figürlerden Oluşan Osmanlı Albüm Resimleri,” *Ege Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Arkeoloji-Sanat Tarihi Dergisi*, 3 (1984), pp. 83–96.
- 13 Banu Mahir, “A Group of 17th Century Paintings Used for Picture Recitation,” in *Art Turc/Turkish Art, 10th International Congress of Turkish Art, 10e Congrès international d’art Turc, Genève-Geneva 17–23 September 1995/17–23 Septembre 1995, Actes-Proceedings* (Genève: Fondation Max Van Berchem, 1999), pp. 443–55.
- 14 Massumeh Farhad and Serpil Bağcı, “The *Falnama* in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century,” in *Falnama: The Book of Omens*, ed. Massumeh Farhad with Serpil Bağcı (Washington, DC: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 2009), p. 28; Orhan Şaik Gökyay, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi (Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 304 Yazmasının Transkripsiyonu-Dizini)*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1995), p. 292.
- 15 Gökyay, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, vol. 1, p. 292.



- 16 Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul, H. 2134, fol. 2a.
- 17 Mahir, "Group of 17th Century Paintings," p. 444.
- 18 On *Hamzanâme* literature, see Lütfi Sezen, *Halk Edebiyatında Hamzanâmeler* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1991).
- 19 John Seyller, "Introduction," in *The Adventures of Hamza, Painting and Storytelling in Mughal India* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 2002), p. 12.
- 20 Cited in S. Bağcı, F. Çağman, Z. Tanındı, and G. Renda, *Osmanlı Resim Sanatı* (Istanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2006), p. 238; Nurettin Albayrak, "Hamzanâme," *TDVİA* 15 (1997), pp. 516–17.
- 21 Kâtip Çelebi, *Keşfü'z-Zunûn An Esâmil'l-Kütübi Ve'l-Fünûn*, 5 vols., trans. Rüşti Balcı (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2007), p. 1064.
- 22 Lâmi'i-zâde Abdullah Çelebi, *Latifeler*, ed. Yaşar Çalışkan (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1997), pp. 233–34.
- 23 Using depictions of Hamza as a part of a storytelling performance is not solely a phenomenon of Ottoman visual culture. Given the size and format of an illustrated copy of the *Hamzanâme* produced for Mughal Emperor Akbar (r. 1556–65), it has been suggested that the manuscript was used in storytelling at the Mughal court. For detailed information, see John Seyller, "The Organization and Use of the Hamzanama," in *Adventures of Hamza*, pp. 41–43.
- 24 Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul, H. 2134, fol. 1a; Mahir, "Group of 17th Century Paintings," pp. 446–47.
- 25 Halil İnalıcık, "The Rise of Ottoman Historiography," in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis and P. M. Holt (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 157.
- 26 Fuat Köprülü, "Türkler'de Halk Hikâyeciliğine Âit Bâzı Maddeler: Meddahlar," in *Edebiyat Araştırmaları* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1966), p. 374; Naimâ Mustafa Efendi, *Târih-i Na'imâ (Ravzatü'l-Hüseyn Fi Hulâsati Ahbârî'l-Hâfikayn)*, vol. 2, trans. Mehmet İpşirli (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2007), p. 43.
- 27 Celâl-zâde Mustafa, *Selim-Nâme*, ed. Ahmet Uğur-Mustafa Çuhadar (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1997), p. 448.
- 28 Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa, *Vekâyi'-Nâme [Osmanlı Tarihi (1648-1682)] Tahlil ve Metin Tenkidi*, ed. Fahri Ç. Derin (Istanbul: Çamlıca, 2008), pp. 237–38.
- 29 Walter G. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early-Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), pp. 63–73. For Latifi's text, see Latifi, *Evsâf-ı İstanbul*, transcribed by Nermin Suner (Pekin) (Istanbul: Fetih Cemiyeti, 1977).
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- 31 V. Minorsky, *The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts and Miniatures* (Dublin: Hodges Figgis & Co. Ltd., 1958), pp. 68–71, pl. 32.
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- 33 *Süleymânâme*, British Library, London, Or. 14944, fol. 91a.
- 34 For more on meeting places, see Andrews and Kalpaklı, *Age of Beloveds*, pp. 63, 76. For more on public readings among the middle class, see, Tülün Değirmenci, "Bir kitabı kaç kişi okur? Osmanlı'da Okurlar ve Okuma Biçimleri Üzerine Bazı gözlemler," *Tarih ve Toplum: Yeni Yaklaşımlar*, December 2011.
- 35 *Süleymânâme*, British Library, London, Or. 14944, fol. 91a.
- 36 The story cited by Halûk İpekten, *Divan Edebiyatında Edebî Metinler* (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1996), p. 234; Kınalı-zade Hasan Çelebi, *Tezkiretü'ş-şuarâ*, vol. 2, ed. İbrahim Kutluk (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1989), pp. 596–97.
- 37 "Tahta-pûş üstüne âli sayebânlar kurulup şâh-ı Acem tuhfeleri envâ'-ı resm-i acib ü garib ile musavver çitler ve zarlar çekilüp, hünerver üstâdların âsâr ve tasvirâtı seyr olunup, sâz u sözler çalındı." Selâniki Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Selânikî (1003–1008/1595–1600)*, vol. 2, ed. Mehmet İpşirli (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1999), pp. 691–92; Mahir, "Group of 17th Century Painters," p. 448.
- 38 Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul, H. 2164; Gül İrepoğlu, *Levni: Painting, Poetry, Color* (Istanbul: The Society of Friends of Topkapı Palace Museum, 1999), pp. 144–81.
- 39 Rhoads Murphey, "Communal Living in Ottoman Istanbul: Searching for the Foundations of an Urban Tradition," in *Studies in Ottoman Society and Culture, 16th–17th Centuries*, ed. R. Murphey (Aldershot-Burlington: Ashgate/Variation, 2007), p. 115; Andrews and Kalpaklı, *Age of Beloveds*, p. 70.
- 40 The story was introduced by Hasan Kavruk for the first time: *Eski Türk Edebiyatında Mensûr Hikâyeler* (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1998), pp. 97–99.
- 41 *Hikâyât-i Sipâhi-yi Kastomonî ve Tûtî*, Millet Library, Istanbul, Ali Emiri Roman 146, fol. 7a.
- 42 Nelly Hanna, *In Praise of Books: A Cultural History of Cairo's Middle Class, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Century* (New York: Syracuse Press, 2003), pp. 79–90.

- 43 Frédéric Hitzel, "Manuscripts, livres et culture livresque à Istanbul," in *Revue des Mondes Musulmans et de la Méditerranée, Série Historie*, ed. Sylvie Denoix (Aix-en-Provence: Cédex, 1999), p. 25.
- 44 Rhoads Murphey, "Forms of Differentiation and Expression of Individuality," *Turcica* 34 (2002), p. 153.
- 45 İsmail Erünsal, *Türk Kütüphaneleri Tarihi II, Kuruluştan Tanzimat'a Kadar Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 1991), pp. 53, 246–60.
- 46 Similarly, in the case of Safavid Persia, throughout the seventeenth century, instead of precious manuscripts produced for the Safavid court, there were many less expensive, single-page paintings, drawings, and calligraphies probably produced for the new patrons who had little training and taste; some of them were not of the same high quality as those made for the royal patrons. Since the single-page paintings could be sold at relatively low prices, which was not the case with a whole manuscript, the consumption of painting became more popular among the wider public. Anthony Welch, *Artists for the Shah: Late Sixteenth-Century Painting at the Imperial Court of Iran* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 1976), pp. 189–202.
- 47 Bağcı, Çağman, Tanındı, and Renda, *Osmanlı Resim Sanatı*, pp. 225–38.
- 48 Günsel Renda, "17. Yüzyıldan Bir Grup Kıyafet Albümü," in *17. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Kültür ve Sanatı*, pp. 153–78; Leslie Meral Schick, "Ottoman Costume Albums in a Cross-Cultural Context," in *Art Turc/ Turkish Art*, pp. 625–28.
- 49 Schick, "Ottoman Costume Albums," pp. 627–28.
- 50 Leslie Meral Schick, "Meraklı Avrupalılar İçin Bir Başvuru Kaynağı: Osmanlı Kıyafet Albümleri," *Toplumsal Tarih* 116 (August 2003), p. 84.
- 51 I use the term "individual" to refer to persons who were inspired by real life rather than people who actually lived; they may or may not have been fictional.
- 52 *Mecmua*, fol. 15a.
- 53 *Mecmua*, fols. 15b–16a.
- 54 Hasan Kavrak, *Eski Türk Edebiyatında Mensûr Hikâyeler* (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1998), pp. 75–76.
- 55 Pertev Naili Boratav, *Halk Hikâyeleri ve Halk Hikâyeciliği* (Istanbul: Adam Yayınları, 1988), 2nd ed., s. 99–100.
- 56 Kavrak, *Eski Türk Edebiyatında*, pp. 70, 85–87, 171–85.
- 57 *Mecmua*, fol. 13a.
- 58 For a summary of the story, see Andrews and Kalpaklı, *Age of Beloveds*, pp. 59–62.
- 59 *Mecmua*, fol. 12b.
- 60 For detailed information on the city thrillers, see Ağah Sırrı Levend, *Türk Edebiyatında Şehr-Engizler ve Şehr-Engizlerde İstanbul* (Istanbul: İstanbul Fetih Derneği İstanbul Enstitüsü Yayınları, 1958).
- 61 Andrews and Kalpaklı, *Age of Beloveds*, pp. 44–45.
- 62 Levend, *Türk Edebiyatında*, p. 46.
- 63 Zdenka Veselá, "Das Lesevergnügen eines osmanischen Stadtbewohners," in *Armağan: Festschrift für Andreas Tietze*, ed. Ingeborg Baldauf, Suraiya Faroqhi, and Rudolf Veselý (Prague: Enigma Corporation, 1994), pp. 227–39. For information on Fakîrî's work, see Levend, *Türk Edebiyatında*, pp. 31–33; Köprülü, "Türkler'de," p. 374. For the biography of Fakîrî, see Kınalı-zade Hasan Çelebi, *Tezkiretü's-şuarâ*, vol. 2, ed. İbrahim Kutluk (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1989), pp. 767–68. One copy of the text is housed in the Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul: Fakîrî, *Şehrengiz-i Fakîrî*, Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul, Köprülü Ahmed Paşa, p. 279.
- 64 *Mecmua*, fol. 12a.
- 65 *Mecmua*, fols. 10b–11a.
- 66 İsmâil Belîğ Efendi, *Târîh-i Burûsa, Güldeste-i Riyâz-ı İrfân ve Vefayât-ı Danişverân-ı Nâdiredân*, publ. by Eşref bin Ali Bey (Bursa, 1302), p. 531.
- 67 Köprülü, "Türkler'de," p. 364; Kumiko Yamamoto, *The Oral Background of Persian Epics: Storytelling and Poetry* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2003), p. 58.
- 68 Gökyay, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, p. 292.
- 69 *Mecmua*, fols. 21a–28b.
- 70 For detailed information on the deposition of Osman II, see Baki Tezcan, "Searching for Osman: A Reassessment of the Deposition of the Ottoman Sultan Osman II (1618–1622)," (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2001).
- 71 For a recent study on the different editions of Tüghî's text, see Şevki Nezihi Aykut, *Hüseyin Tuğî, Müsibetnâme (Tahlil-Metin ve İndeks)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2010).
- 72 For an evaluation of the text within seventeenth-century Ottoman historiography, see Baki Tezcan "The History of a 'Primary Source: The Making of Tüghî's Chronicle on the Regicide of Osman II," *Bulletin of SOAS* 72, no. 1 (2009), pp. 41–62.
- 73 Gabriel Piterberg, *An Ottoman Tragedy: History and Historiography at Play* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), pp. 74–88; Baki Tezcan, "Tarih ile Tarih Yazımı İlişkisi Ekseninden 'Tügi Tarihi' Metinleri Üzerinde Bir Deneme," in *Uluslararası Kuruluşunun 700. Yıl Dönümünde Bütün Yönleriyle Osmanlı Devleti Kongresi, 7–9 Nisan 1999* (Konya: Selçuk Üniversitesi, 2000), p. 670.
- 74 Tezcan, "History," pp. 43–44.
- 75 Tezcan, "History," p. 46.
- 76 Tezcan, "History," p. 43.
- 77 *Mecmua*, fol. 21a–b.
- 78 Tezcan, "Searching for Osman," p. 203.

- 79 *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî*, Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul, H. 1124, fol. 61a.
- 80 Orhan Köprülü, "Hasan Paşa," *İslam Ansiklopedisi* V (1997), pp. 330–34; Mehmed bin Mehmed Rûmî, *Târîh*, Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul, Lala İsmail Efendi 300, fols. 20a–21a; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilatında Kapukulu Ocakları*, vol. 1 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1984), p. 186.
- 81 Özdemir Nutku, *Meddahlık ve Meddah Hikâyeleri* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 1976), pp. 132–33.
- 82 *Mecmua*, fols. 23a–b.
- 83 Bostanzâde Yahya Efendi, *Fî Beyân-ı Vak'â-i Sultân Osman*, Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul, Halet Efendi 611, fols. 4a–6a; Hasan Bey-zâde Ahmed Paşa, *Bey-zâde Târîhi*, 3 vols., transcribed by Şevki Nezihi Aykut (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2004), pp. 938–50; Naimâ Mustafa Efendi, *Târîh-i Na'imâ*, p. 476.
- 84 Aykut, *Hüseyin Tuğî, Müsibetnâme*, pp. 13–15.
- 85 *Mecmua*, fol. 26a.
- 86 *Mecmua*, fol. 28a.
- 87 Hasan Bey-zâde Ahmed Paşa, *Bey-zâde Târîhi*, pp. 915–16; Peçevî İbrahim Efendi, *Peçevî Tarihi*, vol. 2, prepared by Bekir Sıtkı Baykal (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1982), p. 337; Naimâ Mustafa Efendi, *Târîh-i Na'imâ*, pp. 438–41.
- 88 Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul, H. 1124, fols. 50v–51a; Ivan Stchoukine, *La Peinture Turques d'après les Manuscrits Illustrés (I re Partie: de Suleyman Ier à Osman II, 1520–1622)* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1966), p. 149; Nurhan Atasoy and Filiz Çağman, *Turkish Miniature Painting* (Istanbul: Publications of the R.C.D. Cultural Institute, 1974), pp. 69–70; Bağcı, Çağman, Tanındı, and Renda, *Osmanlı Resim Sanatı*, pp. 215–16, fig. 178.
- 89 For the portraits of Osman II, see Banu Mahir, "Portraits in New Context," in *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*, ed. Selmin Kangal (İstanbul: İş Bankası, 2000), pp. 309–11, 317–24.
- 90 Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul, H. 2132, fol. 10r.; Mahir, "Portraits," p. 326.
- 91 Filiz Çağman, "Portrait Series of Nakkaş Osman," in *The Sultan's Portrait*, pp. 164–87.
- 92 Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Serial Portraits of Ottoman Sultans in Comparative Perspective," in *The Sultan's Portrait*, p. 35.
- 93 Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul, H. 1124, fol. 70b.
- 94 Tülün Değirmenci, "Resmedilen Siyaset: II. Osman Devri (1618–1622) Resimli Elyazmalarında Değişen İktidar Sembolleri," (PhD diss., Hacettepe Üniversitesi, Ankara, 2007), p. 207. The *Taeschner Album* was published by Franz Taeschner but unfortunately disappeared during the Second World War. See Franz Taeschner, *Alt-Stambuler Hof-und Volksleben: Ein türkisches Miniaturenalbum aus dem 17. Jahrhundert* (Hanover, 1925).
- 95 *Mecmua*, fol. 18a.
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- 97 *Mecmua*, fol. 10a.
- 98 Theoharis Stavrides, *The Sultan of Vezirs: The Lives and Times of the Grand Vezir Mahmud Pasha Engelović (1453–1474)* (Leiden, Boston, Cologne: Brill, 2001), pp. 73–75, 107–12.
- 99 For a list and a brief introduction of the extant copies of the *Menakıbnâme*, see Neşe Çelik, "Menakıb-ı Mahmud Paşa (Giriş, Edisyon-kritikli metin, Dil incelemesi, Nüsha farkları, Sözlük)," (MA thesis, Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi, 1998), pp. 6–8.
- 100 *Mecmua*, fol. 18a.
- 101 Stavrides, *Sultan of Vezirs*, p. 382.
- 102 Stavrides, *Sultan of Vezirs*, pp. 370–73.
- 103 Halil İnalçık and Mevlüd Oğuz, "Yeni Bulunmuş bir Gazavat-ı Sultan Murad," *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* 7/1 (1949), p. 494.
- 104 *Mecmua*, fol. 29b.
- 105 Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî*, vol. 3 (1996), p. 765; J. H. Mordtmann, "İbrâhîm K̲h̲ân," *ET*, vol. 3 (2002), p. 995.
- 106 Mordtmann, "İbrâhîm K̲h̲ân," p. 995.
- 107 İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi* vol. 4, no. 2 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1995), pp. 33–34.
- 108 Emecen, "Osmanlı Hanedanına," pp. 69–70.
- 109 Feridun M. Emecen, "Osmanlı Hanedanına Alternatif Arayışlar Üzerine Bazı Örnekler ve Mulahazalar," *İslâm Araştırmaları Dergisi* (Turkish Journal of Islamic Studies) 6 (2001), pp. 69–70; for Tuğhi's narration, see Aykut, *Müsibet-nâme*, p. 127.
- 110 *Mecmua*, fol. 8b.
- 111 Although there is a text related to Sultan Süleyman I in the *Mecmua* (fol. 9a), the portrait of the sultan was not included in the manuscript.
- 112 *Mecmua*, fol. 9a.
- 113 İbrahim Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi (İstanbul'un Fethinden Kanunî Sultan Süleyman'ın Ölümüne Kadar)*, vol. 2 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1998), p. 340.
- 114 Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 225.
- 115 According to anthropologist Robert Redfield within some societies there exist two cultural traditions: the "great tradition" of the educated few and the "little tradition" of everybody else. See



- Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 3rd ed. (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2009), p. 50.
- 116 Burke, *Popular Culture*, pp. 51–55.
- 117 Hanna, *In Praise*, p. 4.
- 118 For detailed information, see Şefik Peksevgen, “Secrecy, Information Control and Power Building in the Ottoman Empire, 1566–1603” (PhD diss., McGill University, 2004).
- 119 Mustafa Nihat Özön, *Türkçede Roman*, prepared by Alpay Kabacalı (Istanbul: İletişim Yay. 1985), pp. 72–74.
- 120 Stephan Gerlach, *Türkiye Günlüğü, 1577–1578*, vol. 2, ed. Kemal Beydilli, trans. Türkis Noyan (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2007), p. 577.
- 121 İsmâil Belîğ Efendi, *Târih-i Burûsa*, pp. 529–30.
- 122 İsmâil Belîğ Efendi, *Târih-i Burûsa*, pp. 530–31.
- 123 *Mecmua*, fol. 4b.
- 124 Köprülü, “Türkler’de,” pp. 382–83.
- 125 *Süleymânâme*, British Library, Or. 14944, fol. 91a.
- 126 For the economic and social development of the city, see Haim Gerber, *Economy and Society in an Ottoman City: Bursa, 1600–1700* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 1988); Özer Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyılın Sonlarında Bursa* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2006).
- 127 Orhan Şaik Gökyay, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi (Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 304 Yazmasının Transkripsiyonu-Dizini)*, vol. 2 (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999), p. 18.

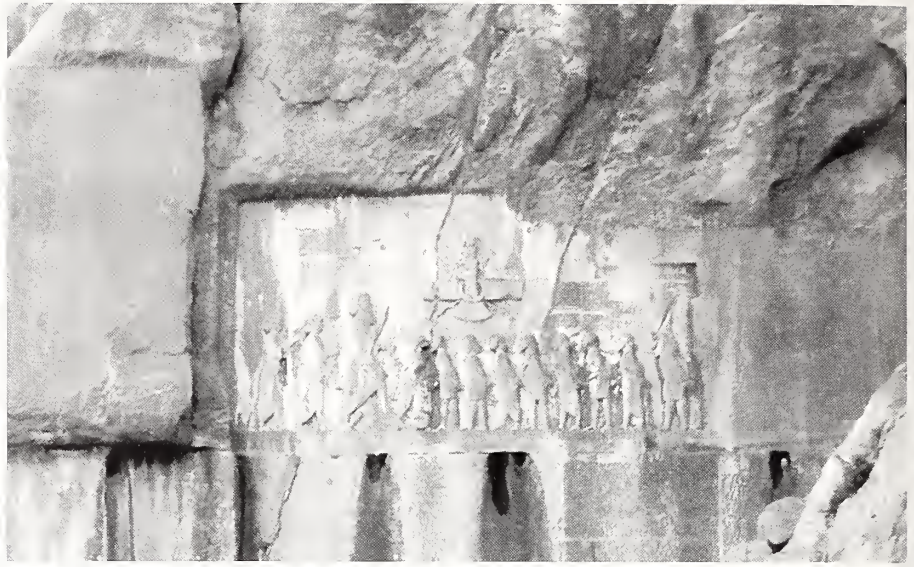
## GODS, KINGS, MEN

*Trilingual Inscriptions and Symbolic Visualizations in the Achaemenid Empire***Abstract**

Darius I, the first Achaemenid ruler, reigned over the vast expanse of the Persian Empire during the years 522–486 BCE. Upon his seizure of the throne, he held before him the task of defining his empire in social, religious, and political terms. His definition of his role as ruler appears in a highly complex and well-developed program of imperial iconography, monumental architecture, and epigraphy. Within the context of a new royal ideology, a previously unattested phenomenon makes its appearance in the archaeological record: the trilingual inscription, which appears in major monumental architecture, such as the monument at Bisitun. Yet it also appears on a smaller scale, on the “royal name” seals from the Fortification Archives at Persepolis, a collection of more than two thousand Elamite texts recording the storage and distribution of food in the Persian Empire circa 500 BCE. In a practical sense, the trilingual inscription was an innovative way to define the geographic and political boundaries of Darius’s empire. Even more important, the ritual function of his royal texts and other royal texts from Ancient Mesopotamia reveals a complex relationship between the gods, the king, and the people.

The trilingual inscription was meant to add an entirely new level of “audience” to Persian kingship. The assumed audience for such iconography as the artistic representations at Persepolis has most often been the “terrestrial,” or human, one. However, I would like to suggest that another type of “reader” be considered in this context: the cosmic audience. Darius was the formative force behind the Bisitun monument, the most complex extant version of the trilingual inscription (which included as its centerpiece Old Persian, a previously unattested language). In this monument and in other examples, a “new cosmic order” is introduced, one made possible through Darius’s kingship. From a complete study of trilinguals appearing during his reign, we can come to a greater understanding of his own personal identification and legitimization techniques, and perhaps Achaemenid kingship in general terms.

Our record of trilingual inscriptions fades quickly after the reign of Darius’s son Xerxes, though it appears again during the reign of the Sassanids, and in Egypt under the Ptolemies. One of the most famous trilingual inscriptions, the “Gallus” inscription, is from the Augustan Age. Thus trilingual inscriptions provide an avenue for tracing important continuities in cultural memory and the political influence of the Achaemenids. Most important, the trilingual provides an opportunity to learn how we may expand our abilities to “read” a text. With interest in multilingual representations currently at the fore of research in the Ancient Near East, this paper enters into a discourse with interpretations of “text.” Through a study of the trilinguals in Darius’s reign we can better appreciate text as imagery, “read” from both a “terrestrial” and a “cosmic” point of view, and understand the ritual functions of text.



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Photograph of Bisitun by  
Jennifer Finn.

IN THE INITIAL STAGES of his reign, Darius I, the first king of the Achaemenid dynastic line of the Persian Empire, faced the enormous task of defining his own legitimacy and expressing the terms of his royal power. Among the many monumental statements in text, image, and architectural/landscape presentation designed during his reign, the most famous and the earliest is the rock-carved inscription and relief at Bisitun, in the Kermanshah region of Iran. This monument marks the development of a new phenomenon in the record: the deployment of trilingually inscribed royal texts as a strategic and systematically orchestrated manifestation of imperial ideology. This ideology, I argue, presented a new “cosmic order,” embracing a notion of “Persianness” ushered in by Darius himself, one in which Persian kingship was the fulcrum between god and man. Key to this new order was the royally mandated expression in cuneiform of the Old Persian language, which heretofore had only been spoken.

I propose that in joining Old Persian with texts inscribed in Neo-Babylonian (Akkadian) and Elamite cuneiform for expressions of official written message, Darius drew inspiration from ancient Near Eastern numerological symbolism. Occurring on both large-scale imperial monuments (as architectural displays and freestanding sculptural and stele displays) and other items, such as portable cylinder seals and prestige vessels bearing the royal name and titulary, the trilingual inscription was conjoined with powerful vehicles of meaning that consolidated the importance of its message. That message, of a symbiotic relationship between god, king, and man, raised the locus of the audience for such symbolism from “terrestrial” to “cosmic.” The “cosmic read,” which I suggest for the trilingual royal name seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive, emphasizes the central location of the divine figure in Darius’s iconographical program, emblematic of the way he viewed the new Persian kingship. The fluid symbolism of the trilingual also allowed for more practical manifestations of meaning. The orientation of the inscriptions, I argue, created a sort of hierarchy that often subtly implied political, geographical, and religious boundaries in Darius’s empire.

The inherent symbolic associations of the trilingual in the reign of the Darius were so pervasive that it continued to be utilized by powerful rulers in the Near



East long after his rule came to an end. Though often appearing in a more distilled format, the trilinguals of the first Achaemenid king permeated through the reign of his son Xerxes and for centuries thereafter, where it may have been a direct source of inspiration for the Rosetta stone. The last gasps of the trilingual format were a significant part of Sassanid propaganda and very much part of a reimagination of the ideology of the Achaemenids for their own self-presentation.

### **Darius and His Iconographical Program**

Darius I ruled the Achaemenid Persian Empire from 522 to 486 BCE.<sup>1</sup> He followed in the footsteps of Cyrus the Great (reigned 559–30 BCE), the founder of the empire and a pioneer in empire-building. Yet the period after Cyrus was filled with dynastic uncertainty and rebellions. After the short reign of Cyrus's son Cambyses, Darius stepped into power amid revolt and conspiracy.<sup>2</sup> Once he defeated the pretender Gaumata (the Greek Smerdis), Darius's claim to the throne was secure. However, the issue of his legitimacy became an immediate concern. Lacking connections to Cyrus's prestigious Teispid bloodline, Darius was essentially forced to create his own legitimacy.<sup>3</sup> He filled this dynastic vacancy with a new claim to Persian dominion, through an eponymous patrilineal ancestor, Achaemenes,<sup>4</sup> and, in his inscriptions, accusing Gaumata of illegitimacy<sup>5</sup> and emphasizing his special relationship to the Iranian deity Ahuramazda.<sup>6</sup> Thus Darius was forced to introduce an entirely new type of political discourse in order to maintain his claim to the throne.<sup>7</sup> His building projects and the inscriptions that accompanied them provide a window into how he conceived of this new program and used the novel entity of the trilingual inscription as a key component to its success.

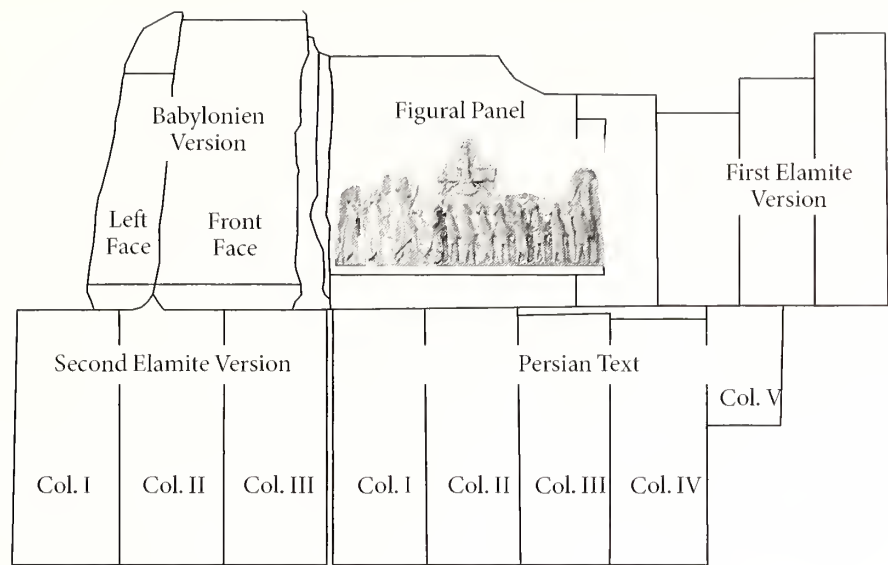
Given the general milieu regarding his accession, it was most crucial for him to provide his constituency with a clear and concise definition of his role as a legitimate ruler, which required a drastic change in image and ideology. Darius was responsible for inaugurating and continuing several building projects throughout the area of Fars in ancient Persia. His most conspicuous project was the construction of a magnificent palace at the capital of Persepolis, the symbolic seat of his reign.<sup>8</sup> At Persepolis, and other sites such as Susa, written proclamations and visual representations were meant to emphasize the timeless nature of the power of the Great King, exalting Achaemenid dominion over other people in the empire.<sup>9</sup> Persepolis is the most concentrated area of evidence for Darius's activity in terms of his ideological program. Evidence discovered there provides a great basis for our study of Achaemenid art, its programmatic power, and the intentionality found at all levels in Achaemenid visual representations.<sup>10</sup>

Besides the massive project at Persepolis, Darius's most famous imprint on the Persian landscape was the monumental carving into a rock cliff at Bisitun (fig. 1)

along the so-called “Royal Road” from Ecbatana to Babylon, in the heart of Media.<sup>11</sup> Created in 520 or 519 BCE, the relief measures seven by eighteen meters and was Darius’s first monumental expression upon seizing the Persian throne.<sup>12</sup> The representation at Bisitun spells out his victory, showing him suppressing Gaumata with his foot, with nine “liar-kings” standing before him, connected by ropes around their necks. The liar-kings are differentiated ethnically by their clothing and are meant to be viewed as individuals personally conquered by the king. A winged figure (thought to be a representation of Ahuramazda) claims center stage above the scene. The accompanying trilingual cuneiform inscriptions describe in detail the artistic representation of the victory over Gaumata and reference various other battles and victories in distant locales that occurred along Darius’s path to kingship. Throughout the inscriptions, the divine favor of Ahuramazda is constantly emphasized, and the strong connection between the king and Ahuramazda is transparent through the iconography and associated language. The only extant “historical” royal inscription from the Achaemenid period, the Bisitun monument is especially important in understanding Darius’s self-definition and the roots of Achaemenid kingship.

The king’s artistic hand was present throughout the empire. His other projects included two burial places: Cyrus’s at Pasargadae and his own at Naqsh-e Rostam. Most important, in the context of all of these building projects, and some outside of the immediate region of Fars, inscriptions played an important role in tandem with the artistic iconography in creating a cohesive message of royal ideology specifically dictated to suit the needs of a particular monarchic ruler.<sup>13</sup> The most conspicuous and elaborate statements are those contained within the trilingual inscriptions of the constructions completed during the reigns of Darius I and his son Xerxes.

In the several examples of imperial iconographical and architectural statements, the message intended by Darius remains consistent. His departure from the previous regime and the emphasis on his legitimization as a descendant of Achaemenes is paramount. Yet the reliefs and artwork at Persepolis and the rest of his building projects represent a reworking of old Near Eastern traditions for a new purpose.<sup>14</sup> Primacy was laid upon Darius’s pious and reciprocal relationship to the god Ahuramazda, an analogy for the expected loyalty of the empire’s subjects to the Persian king. The successful collaboration between these entities led to what is typically described as the *Pax Persica*, a picture that clearly emerges from the imperial art of the Achaemenid period, as summed up by Carl Nylander: “The overall is Iran and empire—but the parts, both architecture and sculpture, are meaningfully and respectfully integrated symbols of the different parts of this commonwealth into an Achaemenid synthesis of the existing world, a cosmos in the real sense of the word: ordered beauty and beautiful order.”<sup>15</sup>



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Layout of the inscriptions on the Behistun monument. Source: Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, vols. I and II (2007), fig. 5.3. Reprinted with permission of Routledge Publishing Co.

The Bisitun monument is an intricate example of the general ideological program of Darius. Built soon after his accession to the throne (522–21 BCE), the monument represented the most elaborate statement of Achaemenid kingship in his reign. Cut 125 feet high into the side of a cliff along the “Royal Road,” it is a massive artistic expression of his rise to power and his victory over Gaumata. A crowned Darius is pictured stepping on the prostrate Gaumata, behind whom other rebel leaders (identified by dress and inscriptions beneath) are led in chains. The king is followed by two weapon bearers. Though novel in size and scope, the Bisitun monument was not entirely invented by Darius.<sup>16</sup> Yet the brilliance of the monument is the use of old Mesopotamian examples to define a new ideology for a royal line that was still in its infancy.<sup>17</sup> As will be discussed below, Bisitun was not the only place in which Darius took advantage of possible prototypes, though it was the most complex expression of his total royal ideology.

Most important for our purposes, the rendering of Darius’s victory on the Bisitun monument is located in the center of a carefully placed assemblage of cuneiform carvings in Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian (fig. 2). Though high in the sky, the artistic representation is visible to passersby.<sup>18</sup> The inscriptions take up an even greater amount of space than does the actual sculptural narrative and thus have their own powerful force. They can be broken down as follows:

- (a) titles/genealogy (paragraphs 1–5)
- (b) subject peoples (paragraphs 6–8)
- (c) Darius’s accession (paragraphs 9–14)
- (d–l) revolts in Elam, Babylonian, Media, Parthia, Margiana, Persia (Fars) (paragraphs 15–51)
- (m) recapitulation, royal virtues, instructions to future generations, creation of text (paragraphs 52–70)
- (n–o) revolts in Darius’s second and third regnal year (paragraphs 71–76).<sup>19</sup>

Thus the inscriptions give the autobiographical, historical, royal, and religious information that Darius deemed critical in his first years of rule.



The Bisitun monument was not only Darius's first expression of kingship, it was also the first appearance in the record of the Old Persian language. Old Persian had long been spoken, but was a hitherto unwritten language, Iranian in origin, and a sub-branch of the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European language family.<sup>20</sup> DB (the inscription of Darius at Bisitun) §70 is the hinge upon which scholars claim that Darius invented the writing system: "Darius the king proclaims: By the favour of Ahuramazda, this is the form of writing, which I had made, besides in Aryan. Both on clay tablets and on parchment it has been placed. Besides, I also made the signature."<sup>21</sup> DB §70 was a supplementary paragraph that was written in addition to the sixty-nine that appear in the other two languages, so clearly the writing of a new language was meant to imply that of Old Persian.<sup>22</sup> This paragraph was added last (as was the Old Persian script version); and the supplementary paragraph was added to the Elamite version later too (in the field of the relief) but not to the Babylonian.<sup>23</sup> This proves, according to Wiesehöfer,<sup>24</sup> that Old Persian script did not yet exist at the time when the first (Elamite) version was conceived.<sup>25</sup> Events during later years in Darius's reign were also subsequently added. In later inscriptions, Old Persian occurs by itself, but in documents most associated with royalty, it occurs alongside Elamite and Babylonian.<sup>26</sup> Even though Old Persian was certainly not the first language inscribed at Bisitun,<sup>27</sup> it was nonetheless the most important.<sup>28</sup> Considering that Bisitun represents the first written appearance of a previously unwritten language, we can then claim that Darius not only invented written Old Persian but also created a new strategic deployment of language, discernible in the trilingual inscription.<sup>29</sup>

Since it is safe to assume that most of the people who contemplated Bisitun were well versed in only one of these languages (if that), it is important to note the multiple functions of the monument. The text is an artistic representation that can be described as "textual image." In and of itself then, the text possesses a certain amount of power and indicates the prestige of the person behind the imagery. In the view of Mark Garrison, "TEXT is iconographic. Its primary semantic function was as a signifier of power via the control/application of specialized knowledge. That knowledge, moreover, was often mystified via connections to the divine; TEXT thus may also assume a numinous quality."<sup>30</sup>

In a similar manner, the image itself can function as a text, telling a story. Whether one could actually read the text may have had a bearing on how one would "read" the image; since the interpretation of the image could be so subjective, it was important for Darius to utilize well-known, prototypical "snippets" to make his presentation identifiable in terms that might have been recognizable to a wide audience.<sup>31</sup> It is also important to note that "text," just as it manifests in multiple ways in iconographical and epigraphical terms, was also experienced aurally. We

might imagine poets standing below the Bisitun monument reciting its contents to passersby, similar to the recitations that occur in the mausolea of poets in modern-day Iran. Thus we must assume a total experience: viewing the inscriptions and iconography while also hearing their message. It is part and parcel of a culture in which orality and literacy were comingled; in these ways “text” had several performative possibilities. The Bisitun monument is significant because it was the first experience Darius’s constituents would have had with the multivalent purpose of the image and trilingual inscription (the text was also disseminated in different languages: see note 50). It thus set an important precedent; as is apparent from the record, it was deemed a successful experiment.

Yet mortals were not the only beings represented and described on the Bisitun monument and Darius’s later iconographical representations. Throughout the inscriptions on the monument, the god Ahuramazda is cited several times as the vehicle by which Darius was able to come to power and to whom he owed his kingship. The king’s relationship to Ahuramazda was a signature element in this self-presentation.<sup>32</sup> However, the Achaemenids’ relationship to the religious system of the Avesta (which encourages the worship of Ahuramazda) has been hotly contested. Therefore, it is necessary to briefly establish a basis for viewing the Bisitun monument and all subsequent royal representations in terms of the king’s relationship to the god.

In DB §9 (column I), Darius expresses his relationship with Ahuramazda as follows: “Darius the king proclaims: Ahuramazda bestowed this kingship on me; Ahuramazda gave me his help until I gained this kingship; by the favor of Ahuramazda, I possess this kingship.” There is evidence for the worship of many different gods in ancient Iran (including Babylonian and Elamite gods), but Ahuramazda remained in the forefront in the inscriptions, especially during the reign of Darius.<sup>33</sup> One of the most enduring discussions in Achaemenid studies is whether or not the winged disk figure that appears on the Bisitun monument represents Ahuramazda or something else entirely. Our understanding of Darius’s program pivots on the identification of this figure, so it is useful to provide a brief overview of the prevailing arguments.

The issue of “Achaemenid religion” is always in contention. Much of the uncertainty deals with linguistic indications of god figures in religious texts.<sup>34</sup> The most probable explanation is that there was some selectivity and mixture between traditions, where they probably accepted significant features of Mazdaistic theology without adhering to a codified doctrine of full-fledged Zoroastrianism.<sup>35</sup> Based on his comparison of the Avesta and the royal inscriptions as literary documents, P. O. Skaerjvø comes to the conclusion that the Achaemenids either started out as Zoroastrians or had become Zoroastrians, at least by the time of Darius, inas-

much as their religion agreed with that of the Avesta.<sup>36</sup> Much of their belief system was dictated by principles in the Avestan texts, maintaining that Ahuramazda (who created the ordered cosmos) chose the king to preserve order on his land. The king's sacrifices "ensure the [god's] status as ruler of the ordered cosmos; in return, the god gives support and rewards the king, ensuring his status as ruler of the ordered land, for him to overcome chaos and evil and reestablish and consolidate political order, peace and well-being."<sup>37</sup> This reciprocal relationship was a principle inherent in the Old Avestan writings and was a cornerstone of Darius's ideological program.

Much of the attention regarding the possibility for Achaemenid Zoroastrianism centers on the winged disk figure prevalent at Bisitun and in other Achaemenid artistic representations, from which a figure is often emergent.<sup>38</sup> Concerning the figure in relief at Bisitun, several theories as to its identity have been forwarded, often dependent upon specific details, such as a "crown" that seems to be hovering above it. Alireza Shahbazi has identified three prevailing ideas regarding the identity of the figure: a) it represents the *fravahr* (guardian angel) of the king above whom it hovers, a sort of duplicate of the soul and the guardian angel of an individual; b) it represents Ahuramazda; and c) it represents the Khwrenah (Glory, Fortune) of the Iranian king or nation.<sup>39</sup> Ultimately, he sides with the third theory.<sup>40</sup> Mark Garrison likewise rejects the "Ahuramazda" theory and posits that the winged disk figure should be seen as a sort of "index" for monarchic ideology and power.<sup>41</sup> Margaret Root counters the arguments of Shahbazi and Garrison by insisting that the figure is Ahuramazda, using several points of mutually corroborative evidence. While it is not always necessarily the case that every figure in Achaemenid art represents Ahuramazda, Root cites the fact that the figure wears a Mesopotamian divine headdress topped with a star of Shamash (the Mesopotamian sun god) as a definite signal in that direction on this monument.<sup>42</sup> The omnipresent figure over the king and the appeal to Ahuramazda in inscriptions with such iconography cannot be ignored.<sup>43</sup> In addition, the figure on Bisitun faces Darius (as it does on his tomb relief), symbolizing the king's relationship to the god.<sup>44</sup> Based on the architectural and epigraphic evidence then, the argument for the winged disk figure as a symbol of Ahuramazda remains strong.

Root's arguments seem compelling to me. It is my contention that all such figures appearing in Achaemenid art should be identified as the god Ahuramazda; if this is indeed the case, the following arguments may be made. Darius's steadfast loyalty to Ahuramazda had led to the reward of kingship; this intense loyalty provided an analogy for Darius's subjects.<sup>45</sup> The other kings represented were adherents of the "Lie" (as opposed to the "Truth") and were punished. Thus the god, named sixty-three times in the Bisitun inscriptions alone, was clearly an important



purveyor of the king's power, and their relationship was essential to the continuity of the Persian dominion.<sup>46</sup> The reciprocal relationship between the king and the god was paramount, and Darius emphasized this by means of a special "communicative" device at Bisitun (represented by the trilingual inscription, with the winged disk figure prominent).<sup>47</sup>

With the addition of the Old Persian language and the heavy emphasis on the king's relationship to Ahuramazda, it is now necessary to expand Garrison's vision of the "iconographical text." The trilingual inscription had to have some sort of power in and of itself, as everything on the Bisitun monument was chosen with a specific intent in mind. As discussed above, it is rather unlikely that most mortals would be able to recognize all three, let alone one, of the texts used in the inscriptions. Thus the text has a numinous quality, as Garrison has described, but that is because there is in reality only one true "reader" of all three of the Bisitun texts: the god. The Old Persian script was invented and paired with the other two prevailing languages of the empire so that the king could have a special "conversation" with the god.<sup>48</sup> This was done not only through language but also through iconography: the trilingual inscription, in almost every circumstance in which it appears, is accompanied by a manifest symbol of Ahuramazda. Pierre Briant even makes an explicit connection between this new writing system and the god: "He [Darius] intended to control the tradition he wished to be transmitted to future generations: the royal word, inscribed for all posterity on the rock, was placed under the aegis of Ahuramazda as protection against all those who might want to destroy it."<sup>49</sup>

The trilingual inscription and the king's relationship with the god were intimately connected: mortals subjectively viewed the Bisitun monument based upon the artistic representation and/or any combination of the languages upon the rock. But it was the god who "understood" the entirety of the monument in all of its constituent parts. Thus we should expand the definition of "audience" throughout our study of Darius's royal program past merely "mortal" and move into the realm of the "cosmic" or the "divine."<sup>50</sup> In fact, Gernot Windfuhr even suggests that the relief "represents in stone the fundamental ritual of creating a new cosmic order."<sup>51</sup> Thus the monument should be viewed as the central element in defining the regime of a new royal and cosmic order, from which we can base our understanding of the use of iconography and language in other environments during Darius's reign.

After the reign of Xerxes, the prevalence of royal prayers to Ahuramazda diminished, and other gods such as Anahita and Mithra were invoked in inscriptions.<sup>52</sup> The trilingual inscription all but disappears from Achaemenid remains after Xerxes, though it does make interesting, yet brief, reappearances in the archaeological record. Thus Ahuramazda is immensely important to Darius's regime, and the king's sponsorship of Old Persian script and the trilingual inscription were influ-

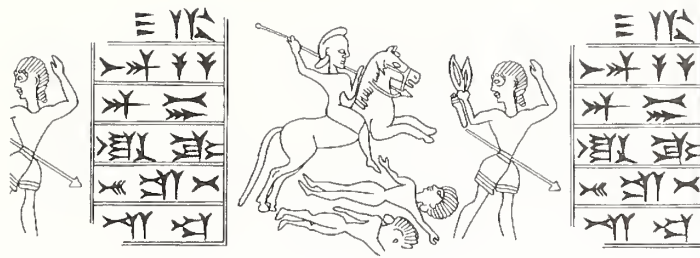
ential tools in advancing his legitimization as ruler and his personal relationship to the god. This will be seen to be true also in the iconography of the seals from the Fortification Archive at Persepolis.

### **The Seals of the Fortification Archive at Persepolis: A Case Study**

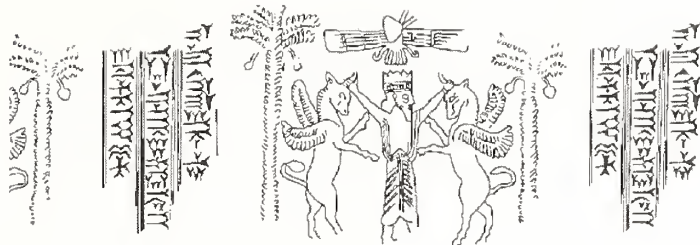
A spectacular find at the Persian royal capital of Persepolis yields a useful case study in the royal ideological program of Darius I. The Persepolis Fortification Archive, found in the rooms of a tower in the citadel of the city, is an archival collection excavated by the University of Chicago in 1933, including 2,087 Elamite administrative tablets (texts published by Hallock in 1969) with some 1,162 analytically legible seals.<sup>53</sup> Also found in the Fortification Archive were tens of thousands more pieces of varied kinds, including sealed, unscribed tablets. The archive dates to a brief period in Darius's reign (509–494 BCE) and therefore serves as a fitting snapshot for the definition of the artistic program at that time.

Though there are 1,162 distinct seals in the archive, those that are most pertinent to the discussion of Darius's royal program are the "royal name" seals, so-called because they contain a formulaic "signature" of the king (e.g., "I am Darius," "Xerxes the Great King"). We are not able to describe these seals in any other terms than "official," given the fact that we cannot possibly identify them as those of the king. Rüdiger Schmitt assumes that the royal name seals were used by high-powered officials who were closely associated with the king,<sup>54</sup> though such an assumption is not always necessary.<sup>55</sup> The tablets in the Fortification Archive contain many Aramaic tablets, and several "stand-alone" entities, including Greek, Babylonian, Old Persian, and what appears to be a Phrygian tablet.<sup>56</sup> In addition to this archive, we can also glean information from seals from the Persepolis Treasury Tablets. This archive consists of cuneiform Elamite tablets featuring seventy-seven distinct seals. Though a great majority come from the reign of Xerxes, the PTS<sup>57</sup> impressions also yield some royal names that will be useful in our study of Darius's royal iconographical program.

The royal name seals were produced in what John Boardman first termed the "Court Style," which he associated with eastern Achaemenid glyptic and defined through a set of iconographic features.<sup>58</sup> Through Boardman's analysis, Court Style seals include those that include representations of items such as the Persian court robe, date palms, and figures emerging from winged symbols.<sup>59</sup> Garrison and Root prefer to characterize these seals by their stylistic qualities, such as the careful detailing or hard outlines of the figures.<sup>60</sup> The Court Style, which expresses elements of both style and iconography, was one of many styles that existed in the corpus of seals in the Fortification Archive, but it represented an important change in imperial iconography during the reign of Darius. The style, as Garrison has proved, was a



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Composite line drawing of PFS 93\*, the seal of Cyrus of Anshan. From Garrison and Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets, Vol. II* (forthcoming) and Garrison, "The Seal of 'Kuraš the Anzanite, son of Šešpeš' (Teispes), PFS 93\*: Susa—Anšan—Persepolis," in (ed. J. Álvarez-Mon and M.B. Garrison) *Elam and Persia* (Eisenbrauns, 2001), pg. 376. Reprinted with permission of M. B. Garrison, M. C. Root, and the Persepolis Seal Project.

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Composite line drawing of PFS 7\*. Garrison and Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets, Vol. I: Images of Heroic Encounter* (Chicago: Oriental Institute Publications, 2001), p. 68. Reprinted with permission of M. B. Garrison, M. C. Root, and the Persepolis Seal Project.

development of the court at the center of the Persian Empire; seals from the periphery of the empire may have been influenced by the Court Style but often show no thematic analogy, leading to misidentification in some cases.<sup>61</sup> Elspeth Dusinberre points out that the Court Style "did not replace other styles, at least in glyptic art, but rather existed simultaneously as a stylistic option patrons might choose. It was part of the new artistic language expressing the balance and legitimate might of the new empire ..."<sup>62</sup> Thus a study of the seals produced in the Court Style can provide a better understanding of the imperial propaganda program at the court of the first Achaemenid king.

Though it is not technically produced in the Court Style, the earliest extant royal name seal from the Achaemenid Empire is PFS 93\* (fig. 3), an inscribed seal of Cyrus of Anšan, grandfather of Cyrus the Great.<sup>63</sup> Written in Elamite, the seal was a royal heirloom, "... perhaps consciously selected and preserved for [its] strong personal appeal within the royal family."<sup>64</sup> It contains the patronymic of Cyrus and his area of origin, "Cyrus of Anšan, son of Teispes," and depicts a figure on horseback spearing a fleeing figure.<sup>65</sup> This seal of Cyrus is an interesting case in that it was used as an antique seal through the reign of Darius, in the same administrative venue as PFS 7\* (fig. 4), a royal name seal of Darius himself.<sup>66</sup> As we will see, this seal was an important prototype, even more significant because of its close connection to PFS 7\*.

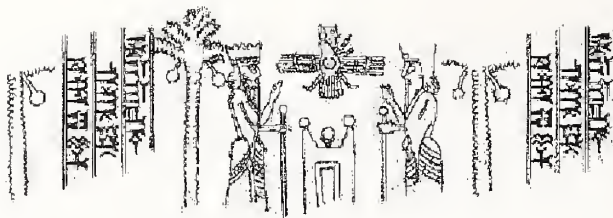
The fullest manifestation of Darius's royal iconographical program (in a microcosmic setting) is the royal name seals contained in the PFS corpus. Though there are only three extant seals from the PFS corpus that contain Darius's name (PFS 7\*, PFS 11\*, and PFUTS 0018\*<sup>67</sup>), these seals were used often and carried by important individuals. With its earliest dated application in 503–2 BCE, PFS 7\*<sup>68</sup> seems to have been particularly associated with the king. PFS 7\* (fig. 4) shows a familiar motif in the royal name seals: a control encounter, with a heroic figure wearing a Persian court robe and a dentate crown. Thus, the figure may be considered representative of the king, or at least "royal" in a sense. He clutches two creatures by the horns, one in each fist, and a winged disk figure (the "Ahuramazda" figure, as we



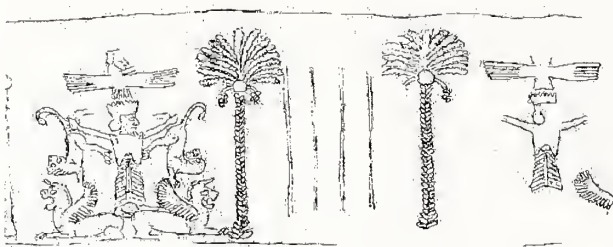


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Composite line drawing of PFS 66a\*. From "Seals and Elite at Persepolis," *Ars Orientalis* 21 (1991), p. 10. Reprinted with permission of M. B. Garrison, M. C. Root, and the Persepolis Seal Project.

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Composite line drawing of PFS 66b\*. From "Seals and Elite at Persepolis," *Ars Orientalis* 21 (1991), p. 10. Reprinted with permission of M. B. Garrison, M. C. Root, and the Persepolis Seal Project.

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Composite line drawing of PFS 11\*. Correspondence with Margaret Root. Reprinted with permission of M. B. Garrison, M. C. Root, and the Persepolis Seal Project.

8

Preliminary composite line drawing of PFS 1683\* = PFUTS 0018\*. Correspondence with Margaret Root. Reprinted with permission of M. B. Garrison, M. C. Root, and the Persepolis Seal Project.

have described it above) is placed above his head. Two date palms flank the control encounter, which in turn are flanked by a trilingual inscription that proclaims "I am Darius." Thus the seal contains the elements of the Court Style described above, with the center of vision on the royal figure. It can be seen as a static manifestation of Darius's royal ideology. As Garrison points out, "With its center of attention on the Great King [the royal figure] and the emphasis in the new Achaemenid imperial program on order and control, PFS 7\* seems even more striking and evocative of Achaemenid concepts of world order."<sup>69</sup> Furthermore, PFS 7\* always appears on J texts, or those that dispense commodities "before" the king or "on behalf" of the king or other members of the royal family. Also present on these tablets is PFS 66a\*, PFS 66b\*, and PFS 66c\*,<sup>70</sup> and PFS 93\*, the antique seal of Cyrus (figs. 3, 5, 6). One more indication that PFS 7\* was especially important is that it was found outside of Persepolis, sealing an Achaemenid Elamite tablet from Susa.<sup>71</sup>

The other two royal name seals include PFS 11\* and PFUTS 0018\*, one of which (PFS 11\*) is forthcoming in Garrison and Root's *Achaemenid Seal Volume II* (fig. 7). PFS 11\*<sup>72</sup> is similar to PFS 7\* in its symmetrical nature, though key elements are different. There is no heroic control, and instead the focus is upon some sort of central "altar." Above the altar is a winged disk with royal figure emergent. On either side are royal figures in Persian court robes and dentate crowns, facing one another with staff in one hand and a symbolic gesture of the other. Flanking these figures are two date palms, which are in turn flanked by a trilingual inscription that reads "I am Darius." The first-known date of application of this seal is 502 BCE, making it an early seal like that of PFS 7\*. Though PFS 11\* is an anomaly among the royal name seals because of its worship scene, it was nonethe-



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The Darius Seal, said to have been found in Thebes, Egypt. Purchased in 1835, formerly in the Salt collection. Chalcedony; height 3.7 cm, diameter 1.7 cm. British Museum, London, Inv.-Nr. 89132a [facsimile]. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reprinted with permission.

less produced in the Court Style and shows similarities to PFS 7\* in that it contains a royal figure, the date palm, and the trilingual inscription. Finally, PFS 1683<sup>473</sup> (PFUTS 0018\*) (fig. 8) is the last extant (trilingual) royal name seal of Darius. It depicts a heroic control encounter with a royal figure in dentate crown in the center of the image. Above the royal figure is a winged disk with figure emergent. The royal figure grasps two lion-griffins by the tail, flanked again by two date palms, which are in turn flanked by trilingual inscriptions. This seal is interesting because it always occurs alone on tablets it seals (not uncommon in the archive and also because the royal figure is supported by creatures below). Also, present on PTS 1\*, PTS 3\*, and PTS 6\*, the supporting animals are an important innovation in Achaemenid seal design: “Before the Achaemenid period, such supporting animals seem to have been the representational prerogative solely of divinities [represented in Mesopotamian and eastern Anatolian art]. Under the patronage of the early Achaemenids, however, glyptic artists adapted this imagery to express the complex concept of a king.”<sup>74</sup> Thus the pedestal animals on these particular seals were another element that made the royal nuances on the seals that much more connected to divinity. Their close association with the trilingual indicates that they were indeed in step with the royal iconographical program begun by Darius during his early campaign of self-definition.

Thus, of the PFS corpus, PFS 7\* and 11\* seem to have been particularly important seals, especially in the environment of a new Achaemenid regime: “The royal-name inscriptions act as the final, definitive sanctioning of this Court Style as the official art of the empire. PFS 11\* and PFS 7\* may have been the paradigmatic exemplars.”<sup>75</sup> They indicate that for the trilingual to adopt substantial and loaded meaning on a seal, three elements are typically present: the royal figure, the date palm, and the trilingual inscription (fig. 9). These are the only symbolic elements that are present in all of the extant royal name seals, from both the PFS and PTS corpora. In all of the seals in the PFS and PTS corpora but one, the winged disk figure hovers over the image. The trilingual royal name seals would not have con-

tained the same ideological message that they did during the reign of Darius without these elements.<sup>76</sup>

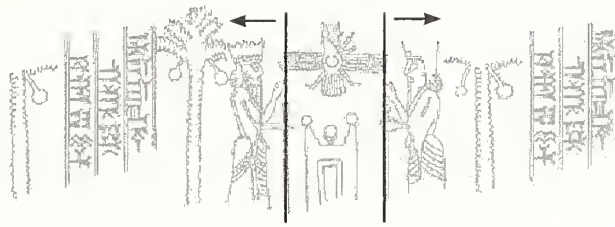
### *On “Terrestrial” versus “Cosmic” Readings of Royal Name Seals*

Now that we have established a basis of content for the royal name seals in the reign of Darius, it is important to identify how the propagandistic messages in them could be “read” by different “audiences.”<sup>77</sup> Mark Garrison has established a theory using “panoptic” or “imperial” terminology,<sup>78</sup> emphasizing the mirror imagery of these important royal name seals in the PFS corpus. All of the royal name seals from the Fortification Archive show a crowned figure “in symmetrical designs that fold back on themselves.”<sup>79</sup> PFS 11\* is his crowning example of the “imperial” or “panoptic” perspective in its most sophisticated form (fig. 10). Garrison claims that there is a centripetal dynamic forced by the “V” syntax of the seal (inscription–palm–king–altar–palm–inscription, which he compares to the ring composition style of oral poetry), pushing the focus of the reader to the edges (that is, to the trilingual inscription).<sup>80</sup> The rigid geometry of the design, then, allows for movement both inward and outward and also continuously turns back on itself. The doubling, according to Garrison, elevates the seal to the realm of the “ideal” world, implying the divine. This same level of symmetry is existent in PFS 7\* and PFS 1683\* (PFUTS0018\*), other exemplars of his “imperial” perspective theory. Approaching a view of a seal in this way can be said to describe a “terrestrial” perspective: the simple and immediate human view of the imagery.

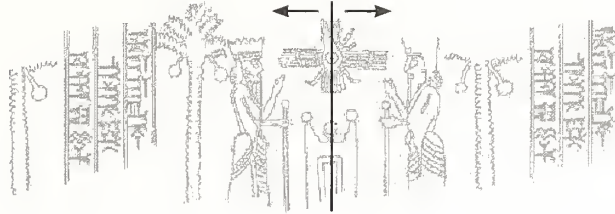
Yet it can be suggested that instead of looking at the syntax of the seal in doubles, we should look at the syntax in triple, and change the perspective. Since the trilingual is so important in the royal name seals—in the “panoptic” perspective, the gaze of the viewer is pushed out toward this signal element—it is beneficial to attempt to understand them in the triple, in what seems to represent the language of Darius’s iconographical program. Admittedly, the triple view of a royal name seal is not as easily identifiable, but a more complex view of the seal imagery is in sync with the more sophisticated ideology presented during the reign of Darius.

We have already discussed the importance of the trilingual for Darius’s special communication with the god. Therefore, it is necessary now to establish a distinct read of a seal for the god, what can be called the cosmic read, which suggests that the winged disk figure be viewed as a central element. If one looks outward in either direction from the winged disk figure (cutting the royal figure “in half” in PFS 7\* and PFS 1683\*, where his image is split equally into both fields), there are three elements present in the field to be read out from the divine symbol: the royal figure, the date palm, and the trilingual inscription (fig. 11).<sup>81</sup> These three symbols are the three elements in all of the royal name seals. In PFS 7\*, in cutting the seal at





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11

10  
Garrison's "panoptic view."

11  
Proposed "cosmic view."

the divine figure, the royal figure is similarly divided. This aspect of the seal would seem to be consonant with Darius's ideological program, reiterating the reciprocal relationship between the king and the god established in the royal inscriptions.<sup>82</sup>

In addition to cutting the divine image down the middle, the cosmic read of a seal makes two assumptions that Garrison's panoptic read does not. One is that the creature (or the altar, in the case of PFS 11\*) is a sort of "ideological appendage" to the royal figure, where his control over the figure (or his worship at an altar) is an index for his royalty. This allows a broader view for the interpretation of the figures in the seal rolling: now, it is unnecessary to assume that the creatures are "evil" per se, as they may well signify a creature like a bull, which had both positive and negative elements in Mesopotamian philosophy. Similarly, there is uncertainty related to the classification of the symbol in PFS 11\* as an altar; it may very well be a palatial symbol, further strengthening the seals' associations with royalty.<sup>83</sup> On the contrary, if the symbol does indeed represent an altar, we may wonder whether the divided divine figure, which then also halves the altar, is further emphasizing a supplementary feature of the cosmic realm.

The fact that the same symmetry in PFS 11\* or PFS 1683\* does not occur in PFS 7\* (where the royal figure is divided) should not pose a problem for our cosmic read, as these sorts of inconsistencies can be accounted for depending on the owner of the seal. For instance, PFS 11\*, the seal used by Zissawiš, may be a case of a person inside the imperial hierarchy appealing to the ideologies of the imperial program in different ways than did the owner of PFS 7\*. In either case, a construction of balance is achieved, with three elements remaining in the field and the Achaemenid message of power, royalty, and close association with religion staying the same.<sup>84</sup>

The other assumption made within the cosmic read is that the trilingual inscription in and of itself is a piece of iconography (where it is left outside of the discussion in Garrison's "terrestrial" perspective). The trilingual inscription itself encapsulates a "sub-3" within the whole tripartite system. Thus, just as on the Bisitun monument (which itself looks like a larger-than-life seal rolled onto the side of a mountain), the text functions as an image that relates a message of royal power to a mortal audience, while being a special communicative device with the god. The trilingual, then, accompanies a greater "tripartite" ideology to Darius's iconography as viewed

in the three elements typical of royal name seals. Though a more intricate view, the triple structure of the seals in the cosmic read is consonant with our evidence establishing the significance of the trilingual to Darius's self-definitive program, necessitating a more sophisticated reader and a special communication with the god.

The seals in the PFS corpus, just like the monumental architecture in the empire, express their brilliance in an appeal to a wide variety of audiences. Much of the imagery contained on the seals is in close artistic connection to the greater iconographical program represented in the images at places such as Persepolis, Pasargadae, and Naqsh-e Rostam. This centrality of the divine figure and the royal figure in PFS 7\*, 11\*, and 1683\* is significant to the relief on Darius's tomb at Naqsh-e Rostam<sup>85</sup> and the reliefs at Persepolis as well, where "... we see the figure of the king in the traditional position of the deity, lending the image a new multivalent meaning of simultaneous kingship and divinity within a context of universal empire."<sup>86</sup> In addition, the audience scenes on PFS 66\* and all its variations (which are always connected to PFS 7\*) are reminiscent of the reliefs on the Council and Throne Halls at Persepolis.<sup>87</sup> Finally, the formal display characteristics of the trilingual inscriptions (paneled, caselines, longitudinal axis of seal) are very similar to those seen in inscriptions of Darius on architecture at Persepolis (DPa, DPc, DPd, DPe, DPf, DPg) and also evoke Bisitun and Naqsh-e Rostam.<sup>88</sup> The seals are thus on par with the ideological aims of the empire's trilingual inscriptions and form a continuous body of work that was meant to express a complex royal ideology during Darius's reign.<sup>89</sup>

### Arrangement of the Trilingual

With a firm basis established for the iconography associated with the trilingual inscriptions, it is necessary to place these findings into a conceptual framework in which the use of the trilingual can be better understood. Having spoken generally about the terrestrial or mortal as opposed to the cosmic read of the Bisitun monument and the seals from the Fortification Archives at Persepolis, it can be seen that the trilingual performs complex functions in multiple media. Therefore, we must ask two important questions: for what purposes did Darius elect to highlight the trilingual and to what different types of audiences can we assume it appealed?

Before an interpretation can be made about the meaning of the trilingual, we must have a better understanding of the languages that appeared in these inscriptions. There was an implicit ranking system in the process of the creation of these inscriptions: when in vertical array, they are always arranged in the following order:

- Old Persian
- Elamite
- Babylonian (also known as Akkadian)

What was the significance of each of these languages in the environment of the Achaemenid Empire? Old Persian was the language of the rulers, based on an already ancient grammar. Matthew W. Stolper describes Old Persian as having an “artificial idiom drawing forms from several Iranian dialects.”<sup>90</sup> It thus served a greater purpose of placing Darius and Xerxes at the center of a larger Iranian world. Geographically, Old Persian represented an all-encompassing Iranian empire, as it was composed from many different Iranian dialects. Thus the use of Old Persian is in harmony with the general program of the Achaemenids: a cooperative, collaborative, and all-encompassing melting pot.

The second language in the trilinguals, Elamite, had been the primary language of successive kingdoms in territories of western Iran. It was not limited to royal inscriptions or display but was used specifically as the written language of administration. Geographically, Elamite represented the areas in which the Elamite kingdoms were formed: Susa and modern Fars (Anshan). In its connections to Anshan, Elamite also represented ties to Cyrus. Although not on the same ideological or influential plane as Old Persian, Elamite still had a prestigious position at Persepolis, where it is presented (without Old Persian) in one of the four important inscriptions written on the south wall at Persepolis (DPf). A foundation inscription, DPf briefly describes the construction of the palace terrace at Persepolis.<sup>91</sup>

The final language presented in the trilingual inscriptions was Babylonian (Akkadian). A language first written down in the third millennium BCE, Babylonian was the foremost written language of western Asia, used for everything from commerce to science. During the reign of the Achaemenids, it became confined to Mesopotamia in a unique dialect (Neo-Babylonian, which would have had a very different syntactical and grammatical appearance than Old Babylonian, though still readily recognizable in form). It was used to represent high civilization and learning, in much the same way as Latin was used in the Middle Ages. Geographically, various dialects of Babylonian were present in the areas of Babylonia, Assyria, and at times Egypt, Anatolia, and Syria-Palestine.

From this brief overview of the origins and use of the three languages prominent in the trilingual inscriptions, it is important to look further at the languages present in the trilingual inscriptions and attempt to discern any significance in their arrangement. The trilingual appears to be a “fluid” entity, in that it was possible to use it for the definition of many things: geographical and ethnic boundaries of the empire, administrative boundaries, and boundaries between the cosmic and the terrestrial. In geographical terms, for instance, the trilingual is used to define the inhabitants of the empire in seven out of eight instances where a list is given in an inscription.<sup>92</sup> This is the case in DB, DPe, DSe, DNa, and DSaa. The geographical definition of the empire through the trilingual was accessible



to everyone from the common man to the royal family, in that the inscribed lists appeared on monumental architecture everywhere. Using these three languages together to encompass geographical and ethnic boundaries resonated with all the people in the empire and also expressed the power of the Persian dominion over all of them, through the specialized knowledge of the trilingual text. It was important for Darius to use these languages, which resonated throughout all of his territories, to establish a firm boundary for himself and his constituents in a not-yet-established regime.<sup>93</sup>

The extent of the area represented by the trilingual was an all-inclusive message, part and parcel of the imperial ideology of the first Achaemenid king. There was, however, a “ranking” of areas associated with the vertical arrangement of the trilingual (with Fars being the most central area). Similarly, the seal inscriptions most often represent the same order in a horizontal array from left to right.<sup>94</sup> The only certainty that can be obtained from these arrangements is that Old Persian took some precedence. The place of Elamite and Akkadian was more tenuous; the order of the three languages may have something to do with the evocation of empires, subdivided according to traditional capitals. Persia was considered the most central and important area of the empire, with its capital of Persepolis; Elam, tied to Cyrus and another capital city, Susa, was “ranked” second in prominence; and Babylonia, with its ancient capital of Babylon once conquered by Cyrus, was the third “ranked” area. The three capitals in these regions, Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis, remained prominent throughout the Achaemenid Empire.<sup>95</sup> As Bruce Lincoln describes, “As a set, [the three different languages] thus make a statement about unity and diversity, while also describing linguistic and political relations at the central core of the empire.”<sup>96</sup> The associations with Ahuramazda, associated iconographically with many of the trilingual inscriptions, signaled to Darius’s mortal audience that these areas had been conquered with the aid of the god and that through loyalty to the king, the *Pax Persica* would continue.<sup>97</sup>

### *The Symbolic Value of the Tripartite Distinction*

The literal value of the trilingual inscription and tripartite iconography has been established through geographical/ethnic and administrative terms, and its resonance throughout the empire will later be seen through the Achaemenid priority of cultural exchange. I have argued through the seals that not only is the trilingual highlighted in Achaemenid glyptic specifically associated with royalty, but an inherent tripartite ideology inherent is also present. To fully understand the election of the trilingual as representative of empire, we must understand the possible precedents behind Darius’s decision to associate himself and his reign with “the three,” and what kind of significance these precedents held.<sup>98</sup>



12

Reconstruction of the stele of Naram-Sin. From Winter, "The Conquest of Space in Time," in *Assyria and beyond: studies presented to Mogens Trolle Larsen* (2004), p. 609, fig. 2. Drawing by Denise Hoffman. Reprinted with permission of Irene Winter.

Though conceptual leaps are often inherent in any study of precedents for an ideological program, several possible (not mutually exclusive) influences exist for Darius's election of the trilingual and tripartite iconography as a symbol of his empire. Margaret Root<sup>99</sup> speaks about the importance of Egyptian precedents for Achaemenid symbolism in general, with one of the most influential artistic elements surviving as the so-called "Nine Bows" motif. The Nine Bows played an important part in artistic and literary expressions of the pharaoh's relationship to his empire. The Achaemenids adopted the motif in their artistic program as well, especially in places outside Persepolis. The supporting figures on the Canal Stelae and the Statue of Darius at Susa (see below), similar to that in Egyptian architecture, were consciously reworked by the Achaemenids to fit their ideological program.<sup>100</sup> The ways in which the Achaemenids manipulated these ideas "indicate that Achaemenid planners understood the concept behind the Nine Bows idea; these changes further indicate that the Achaemenids had a clear perception of just how that idea and form had to be adapted in order to suit the Persian politic."<sup>101</sup> The origin of the Nine Bows symbolism is obscure, but the number nine became canonical for the Egyptians because the hieroglyphic script forms the plural by adding the sign for three. Thus the number nine was the plural squared and could stand for *all* enemies or foreigners, for "everything," or for "infinity." Therefore, the number three had the inherent power of representing a timelessness that ultimately became the basis for Darius's program.

The timelessness motif also may have roots in other systems of representation. The stele of Naram-Sin, an early Akkadian king, may provide another view of the significance of the ideology of "the three." This was a victory monument, erected around 2250 BCE in honor of at least three of the king's victories and appropriations while on military campaigns.<sup>102</sup> On the stele, Naram-Sin is depicted with his foot suppressing an enemy (fig. 12), leading many to believe that it is a direct precedent for the imagery of Darius and Gaumata on the Babylonian version of the stone relief on the Bisitun monument.<sup>103</sup> Unfortunately, the entire stele has not survived, and there is some debate over the reconstruction of the top. Though it is impossible to know for certain, scholars have attempted to reconstruct anywhere from three to seven celestial bodies in the upper right corner of the stele.<sup>104</sup> Depending on the number reconstructed, arguments have been made as to the possibilities for the symbolism behind the celestial bodies: the Pleiades; the Goddess Ishtar as the Venus star or planet; the sun-god Shamash. However, Irene Winter argues that three domains of meaning can be given to the three celestial bodies on Naram-Sin's victory monument: a celestial portent regarding a battle outcome; a divine favor or presence, especially with respect to the king's destiny and victory in battle; a narrative reference to space or time.<sup>105</sup> All of these motifs could perform an obvious



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Reconstruction of the celestial bodies on the Babylonian version of the Bisitun monument. From Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, vols. I and II (2007), fig. 5.4. Reprinted with permission of Routledge Publishing Co.

function in Darius's ideological program, especially in regards to his legitimization process. Yet it is the narrative reference to space or time that Winter chooses to highlight. She suggests that the three suns on the victory stele represent the visual translation of time: the third celestial element, at the apex of the composition, represents the sun at its midday zenith. The sun duplicated could indicate east–west as well as sunrise–sunset imagery; but three suns would indicate sunrise–noon–sunset imagery. Thus Naram-Sin's victory was represented by the three suns as occurring within the context of a single day, a “rhetorical single day” that constitutes a truly heroic achievement.<sup>106</sup> Thus the duplication of the “three celestial bodies” on the Babylonian version of the Bisitun monument could have called to mind the symbolism behind the three bodies on the stele of Naram-Sin (fig. 13).

There is even more evidence for this on the Bisitun monument itself. There, numerology is used to a great extent, especially with relation to the numbers nine (as in the Egyptian precedents above) and three. Many of the inscriptions can be divided into three subcategories. Darius claims to have accomplished his signal victories just after the fall equinox, just after the winter solstice, and after the spring equinox. Thus, his proverbial “one year” in which he achieved all of these victories is represented in the macrocosm of the “rhetorical day” in the Naram-Sin stele.<sup>107</sup> The patterns of rhetoric, numbering, and timing that dominate Darius's inscription clearly “show a reasoned compromise between, and co-existence with, the real and the idealized truth of space and time.”<sup>108</sup> Why might Darius have wished to utilize this imagery? He could have known the Naram-Sin monument and recognized it as one of a great conqueror and military hero.<sup>109</sup> This characterization of a king as legitimate by means of his ability to be militarily successful was an attractive motif for Darius, especially at the dawn of his reign; he certainly felt it an important point to drive home: Carl Nylander shows that within sixty lines of the Bisitun inscriptions, Darius repeats five times that his victories were completed in “one and the same year.”<sup>110</sup> If Winter's theories are viable regarding the “time” element in the celestial bodies on Naram-Sin's stele, it would have provided a fitting precedent for Darius's royal ideological program.

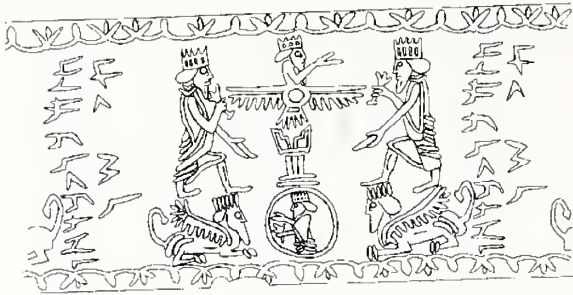
Besides the Egyptian and Assyrian precedents for the tripartite iconography, there are even more possibilities for the importance of tripartite symbolism through ancient Iranian beliefs in the cosmic primordial elements. The chain of creation, assumed by the single deity Ahuramazda, was thought to be such: land–sky–man. The “bonheur de l'homme” follows this order of creation, though it can be combined with “man” in that it represents the development of his religious ideology.<sup>111</sup> Thus the chain of creation was believed to have been in three distinct parts; a similar division of responsibilities was given to the Persian king, the mortal representative of Ahuramazda. The apportionment of duties is given in the formulaic



royal “signature” present in many of our trilingual inscriptions: “I am Darius the great king, *king of kings, king of the countries, the king on this earth.*”

These distinct primordial parts carried over even into the elements of the Old Persian language. There were certainly very few readers of Old Persian in the ancient world, but the symbols were recognizable. The signs that embodied the concepts of the Achaemenid world order would appear thus: first the divine beings, then the inanimate things created by Ahuramazda and ruled over by the king (earth and land), then the king himself, represented by his title (not his name). This order of symbols showed the importance of the three in the Achaemenid ideology established by Darius: the king was the link between heaven and earth, and through these three symbols the world functioned in perfect order.<sup>112</sup>

The religious elements that are always intricately intertwined with political ideology appear no differently in the context of the trilingual. Alireza Shahbazi has located patterns appearing at Persepolis that seem to have their origins in the Avesta. The numbers three, five, and seven (and all of their potential multiples) were particularly symbolic for the Achaemenids. For instance, at Persepolis, there are three doorways to the “Gate of All Lands,” three porticos in the Apadana, etc. Shahbazi points out that, even though Darius had several wives, he only constructed three vaults, with three cysts, in his rock-cut tomb, which Boyce called “a clear instance of ‘the characteristic Zoroastrian triplicity.’”<sup>113</sup> Other seemingly religious motivations apply; according to Clarisse Herrenschildt, Émile Benveniste a long time ago recognized that “les trois maux” that threatened the Persians were measured according to the three functions that are found more or less clearly through the representation of the Indo-Iranian ancient pantheon.<sup>114</sup> The three classes of the ancient order, “food producers, warriors, and priests” in accordance with the Scythian and Indo-Iranian social classes, are closely tied to elements in the Gathas, a portion of the Avesta. The three social classes are the human “representatives” of the corresponding elements of the living world: “boeuf, cheval, plante *hauma*.”<sup>115</sup> The “three evils,” then, are the elements upon which this balance of order may be threatened, the “opposites” of these essential elements: famine, invasion, and impiety. To protect against these evils is the responsibility of the king, under the protection of Ahuramazda. Thus, just as Achaemenid religion dictated the three primordial elements, it also dictated that the king was to protect against the evils that may threaten those elements. In this view, the trilingual was a symbol that showed the Persian people that the king understood his political responsibilities, based on the terms of the sacred Achaemenid religion. Clearly not all official Achaemenid documents required the use of tripartite symbolisms but, as the evidence in appendix 1 shows, the strategy was especially prevalent during Darius’s reign.<sup>116</sup>



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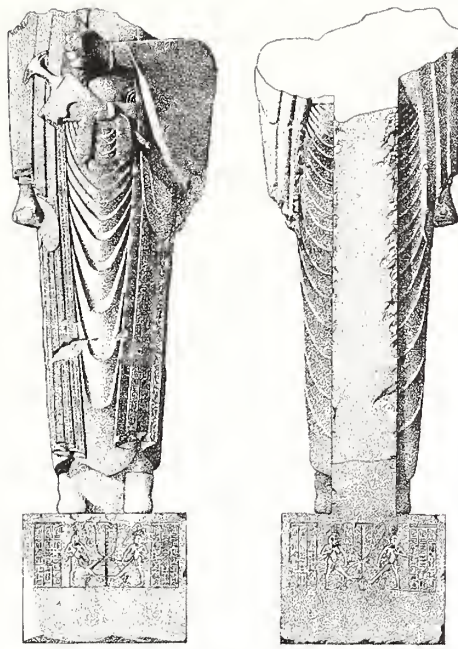
14

Line drawing of the Category 33 seal from Gordion. From Dusinger, *Gordion Seals and Sealings: Individuals and Society*, vol. II: Plates (2005), fig. 43. Reprinted with permission of Elspeth Dusinger.

### Other Tripartite Messages in the Reign of Darius

Proof of the power of the trilingual inscription and the flexibility of its message in different environments is clear when one explores the instances of the trilingual outside the immediate region of Fars. Just as local traditions influenced the use of the trilingual in Fars, the ideology of the trilingual was an important element in the acculturation project of the Achaemenid Persians.<sup>117</sup> A study of Asia Minor is useful on this point. The Persians had great influence in this area, as shown by the power of their satrapal presence. The Persian satraps were admirable in their ability to establish close relationships with the local ruling classes in areas like Sardis and Daskyleion (Turkey), though they also maintained close relationships with the Persian court at Persepolis.<sup>118</sup> In these areas, archaeological evidence shows a high level of Achaemenid influence, which also accommodated local traditions and customs. One example is a seal from Gordion, a city located on the Anatolian plateau, about one hundred kilometers west-southwest of the modern Turkish capital of Ankara. The seal, labeled as Cat. 33 by Dusinger<sup>119</sup> is an intricate Achaemenid period seal depicting a worship scene (fire altar) with two bearded crowned figures in court robes on pedestal animals flanking a half figure in a winged disk, and an Aramaic inscription in the terminal field (fig. 14). It exhibits striking parallels to the iconography on PFS 11\*, with the mirror-image kingly figures worshipping at a central element including an “altar” and Ahuramazda figure. Thus the seal shows heartland Persian imagery, a *lingua franca* Aramaic inscription, and an Anatolian style.<sup>120</sup> It indicates that areas in Anatolia had overtly embraced the Achaemenid styles on seals, showing that the relationship between the locals and the Achaemenid power structures was reciprocal: “The high percentage of Achaemenid styles indicates the clear tendency among the elite in western Anatolia and those in the satrapal courts towards choosing images that directly associated them with the Persian world.”<sup>121</sup> Though not a trilingual, the seal from Gordion recalls imagery from one of the most powerful trilingual seals we do have (PFS 11\*) and may have evoked the same type of power. It was surely meant to recall the trilingual official seals. Thus a strong relationship between the Persians and their subjects existed, and the Gordion seal provides a useful paradigm for the evidence we can identify from outside of the immediate area of Fars.

Further manifestations of the trilingual in the areas outside Fars (Persepolis, Naqsh-e Rostam, Pasargadae) bear witness to the influence of this early Achaemenid ideology.<sup>122</sup> Susa also played an important role during Darius’s reign, perhaps in part because of its associations with Elam.<sup>123</sup> A famous statue (DSab) was found at Susa in December 1972 (fig. 15); it is a better than life-sized image of Darius I that remains mostly intact from the chest downward.<sup>124</sup> The statue has been dated to



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Drawing of the Statue of Darius from Susa. From Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, vols. I and II (2007), fig. 11.2. Reprinted with permission of Routledge Publishing Co.

the later years of Darius's reign and was commissioned by him to be made in Egypt by Egyptian artisans. It contains hints of the influences of Egyptian workmanship (especially in the pose of the statue, which has one foot forward), but also contains Persian elements (in the dress and the strong symmetrical elements). Thus, the statue is a fine artistic example of the melding of local and imperial traditions. Most important for our purposes, it is inscribed with a quadrilingual inscription in Egyptian hieroglyphics, Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian. Still, the statue actually is representative of the same form of trilinguals we have seen in Persia. The statue's belt of the statue carries Egyptian inscriptions; the left-hand pleats carry five longer ones. The right-hand pleats bear the usual pattern of Darius's trilingual texts (Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian). The trilingual, then, is still separated from the hieroglyphics, and the effect remains the same: the trilingual is closely related to the Persian king and his authority is expressed by this means to an Egyptian population.

It is tempting to see the statue as a "3+1" artifact, with the hieroglyphics as an added element, but it is also necessary to view this statue in its distinct milieu. Artifacts made in Egypt were the product of local heritage and tradition. For instance, Darius commissioned the Suez Canal stelae, like the statue in Egypt, to celebrate his construction of the canal. The four stelae that remain were inscribed with trilingual cuneiform inscriptions, with a fourth text in Egyptian hieroglyphics.<sup>125</sup> Both these items and the statue of Darius were originally created to reside in Egypt (not in the statue's final location of Susa), and many pieces, such as alabaster vessels, incorporate the trilingual-plus-hieroglyphic textual pattern.<sup>126</sup> Yet the hieroglyphic texts do not merely mirror the message of the trilingual texts in all cases and often go into more detail than the cuneiform texts. This trend is part of a general pattern of artifacts created in the Achaemenid period (and in the reign of Darius specifically)—which were part of the trilingual "discourse" but pandered to the interests of the local population—in which there were "formal readjustments ... to meet the

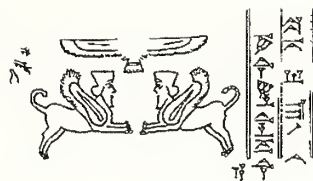


demands of a new ideology.”<sup>127</sup> One of the best examples of this type of document is the Babylonian version of the Bisitun monument, which translates the Bisitun text into Akkadian and portrays Darius in a milieu specific to Babylonian interests, distinct from the iconography at the actual monument.<sup>128</sup> Another example is the temple of Hibis in the Kharga Oasis, Egypt.<sup>129</sup> In antiquity, a temple to Amon stood in this oasis, upon which Darius later built his own temple; the influences of Egyptian architecture from this region are also manifest at Persepolis.<sup>130</sup> These “outliers” are testaments to the malleability of the message associated with the trilingual and its ability to hold significance for local populations within the Achaemenid purview.

Thus, besides being an important communication device with the god, the trilingual and its accompanying imagery provided great dividends for Darius in terms of the multifarious “mortal” audience with whom he could communicate by this means. The trilingual became a sort of index for the power of the king, his dominion over the people in his empire, and his relationship to the god Ahuramazda. This index was used throughout the empire to express the geographical, administrative, and cosmic boundaries, and the symbolism was recognizable to all people through the trilingual and its associated iconography. As we will see, the symbolism behind the trilingual was so influential that its power remained long after the Achaemenid Empire was extinct.

### **Trilinguals in the Reign of Xerxes, Son of Darius I**

After the death of Darius, the pattern of dynastic succession was maintained with the accession of his son Xerxes, though again not without some controversy.<sup>131</sup> Xerxes’s building projects continued to develop in the same vein as Darius’s royal ideological program. Some have suggested that the son’s “slavish” tendency to “copy” the father indicates a lack of creativity or independence. This impression is not a stretch, since many of the buildings first begun by Darius (especially at Persepolis) were completed by Xerxes. To make this assumption, however, is to misunderstand the archaeological evidence. For instance, though some<sup>132</sup> have read XPl (Xerxes’s copy of Darius’s tomb inscription DNb) as a lack of independence on the part of Xerxes, the “timeless” nature of the Achaemenid inscriptions indicate that he was following an ideological and programmatic declarative formula, meant to “emphasize the validity of generally accepted principles for his own reign as well.”<sup>133</sup> Though many of his trilingual inscriptions contain similar or identical content to those of Darius (e.g., XPa carries equivalent connotations to DNa and DE; XPg to DPh; XPi to DPi; XPk to DPb, etc.), this was simply an adoption of the same royal ideology that had worked so well for his father. A strong example of father-son “mirroring” is in DPb and XPk, two trilingual inscriptions in the south doorway of the Tachara at Persepolis. The Darius inscription is carved on the garment folds



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Line drawing of DS 2. From *The Daskyleion Bullae* (2002), p. 3. Reprinted with permission of Deniz Kaptan.

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Line drawing of DS 3. From *The Daskyleion Bullae* (2002), p. 5. Reprinted with permission of Deniz Kaptan.

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Line drawing of DS 4. From *The Daskyleion Bullae* (2002), p. 50. Reprinted with permission of Deniz Kaptan.

of the royal figure on the west jamb of the southern doorway of his palace. XPK is carved in the mirror image of the figure opposite, which bears above it an inscription of Darius (DPa). Amélie Kuhrt understands this as an example of Xerxes's emphasis on the "seamless continuity" of Achaemenid rule.<sup>134</sup> Another example can be seen at Mount Elvend in the Zagros chain, where XE is set next to DE and presents mirrored wording.<sup>135</sup> These particular examples serve to show that Xerxes can be seen as "going on along the path indicated by his father and building on his foundations."<sup>136</sup> Continuity in the fragile environment of the Persian Empire during times of massive revolts (in Egypt and Babylonia) and large-scale campaigns (the second invasion of Greece) was crucial.

That is not to say, however, that Xerxes embraced the trilingual as wholeheartedly as his father did. The number of extant trilingual documents indicates that there was a general decrease in the reign of Xerxes. This tendency is especially true in royal name seals, where the trilingual appears only once in a royal name seal of Xerxes, as opposed to all of the royal name seals of Darius (see appendix 2). The same trend occurs in weights (DWa-d), official vessels that would have been used in contexts of practical significance and visibility. In the reign of Darius, we have at least four examples of trilingually inscribed official weights, as opposed to none in the reign of Xerxes. Xerxes did seem to embrace the idea of inscribing royal tableware; we have at least thirty-five examples of quadrilingual- or trilingual-inscribed vessels from his reign.<sup>137</sup> These vessels even make an appearance in diverse findspots throughout the empire<sup>138</sup> and are extremely important as courtly items that would have been gifted by the king.<sup>139</sup> Yet though many monumental inscriptions and some precious vessels of Xerxes maintained continuity in the trilingual, the propensity for its use on smaller, official (sometimes even more visible and accessible) media began to fade.

Despite these changes, examples of the impact of acculturation and the force of the Achaemenid trilingual continued under Xerxes. More evidence of this sort comes from by four bullae recovered from the area of Daskyleion (figs. 16–18).<sup>140</sup> Controlled by the Persians soon after the conquests of Cyrus the Great, Daskyleion gained strong status as a satrapal center during the reign of Xerxes.<sup>141</sup> The bullae from Daskyleion, two tentatively dated from Xerxes's reign (DS2=Schmitt's SXg and DS3=Schmitt's SXf)<sup>142</sup> and two tentatively dated from the reign of Artaxerxes I (DS4=Schmitt's SA1a and DS4=Schmitt's SA1b),<sup>143</sup> are further case studies in the impact of the iconography attached to the trilingual seals from the Persepolis archives. DS2 shows two sphinxes facing each other, with a palm tree on the left edge and a winged disk figure above, with a bilingual inscription in alternating Old Persian and Babylonian in the terminal field on the right. It is impressed on several bullae and shows no royal figure. DS3, also a seal of Xerxes, shows a hero grasping a

lion-griffin, with flanking date palms and a terminal inscription in Old Persian. The seal contains no winged disk figure and survives in thirty impressions. Finally, DS4, a seal from the reign of Artaxerxes I, shows an audience scene, also present on PFS 66a\* and PFS 66b\*, with an Old Persian inscription on the top field.

Achaemenid seals at Persepolis make it clear that the motifs present on the seals from Daskyleion and Gordion adopt imagery that resonated strongly with Achaemenid power. The images on these seals had strong associations with those of the trilingual seals at Persepolis and the iconography present with other monuments expressing trilingual inscriptions (such as Bisitun). In some cases, these seals are directly connected to those from the Fortification Archive (Cat. 33 from Gordion and DS4 from Daskyleion). In other cases, such as with DS2 or DS3, we may be able to understand the singular Old Persian as “standing” for all three languages (a “synecdoche” construction; see below), a product of their being produced in another part of the empire or having a later manufacture date than the “original” trilinguals made during the reign of Darius. These seals in the western areas are thus an indication of the understanding that subjects had regarding the power of the images connected to the trilingual and the environment of common relationships and acculturation in the Achaemenid Empire.

### Variants on the Theme

After the reign of Darius, the trilingual was still used in some measure, but variations and minimalizations in style began to appear. All of the royal name seals bearing the name of Darius in both the PFS and PTS corpora are trilingual inscriptions. Yet in the reign of Xerxes, some changes occur, which begs the question of how to understand variations on typical seal patterns, such as missing elements or monolingual inscriptions in lieu of the typical trilingual. An example of this type of variant is PTS 8\*,<sup>144</sup> bearing the name of Xerxes, which exhibits the elements typically associated with trilingual inscriptions, such as the flanking date palms and the centered winged disk figure, but only a monolingual inscription (fig. 19). Perhaps after the “prototype” trilinguals were manufactured at the start of Darius’s reign (e.g. PFS 7\* and 11\*), it became acceptable for one language to stand in for all three. In most cases, the monolinguals are written in Old Persian cuneiform, which may suggest that the Old Persian language eventually became a sort of marker for the trilingual itself. Thus we can explain this minimization of languages as an evolution in style of sorts, where the message remains but in a syncopated form.

A similar problem occurs regarding the seals (especially in the PTS corpus, many of which were manufactured in the reign of Xerxes) that do not contain the same sort of symmetry as those of the prototype trilinguals; seals that do not contain the winged disk figure, yet still have trilingual inscriptions, present a similar





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Impression of PTS 8\*. From Schmidt, *Persepolis II: Contents of the Treasury and Other Discoveries* (1957), pl. 5. Reprinted with permission of the Research Archives at the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago.

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Impression of PTS 2\*. From Schmidt, *Persepolis II: Contents of the Treasury and Other Discoveries* (1957), pl. 3. Reprinted with permission of the Research Archives at the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago.

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Impression of PTS 6\*. From Schmidt, *Persepolis II: Contents of the Treasury and Other Discoveries* (1957), pl. 4. Reprinted with permission of the Research Archives at the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago.

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Impression of PTS 1\*. From Schmidt, *Persepolis II: Contents of the Treasury and Other Discoveries* (1957), pl. 3. Reprinted with permission of the Research Archives at the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago.

issue. For instance, in the PTS corpus, only PTS 2\*<sup>145</sup> (reign of Darius) and PTS 6\*<sup>146</sup> (reign of Xerxes) have flanking date palms and the symmetrical imagery present in the PFS corpus (figs. 20, 21). PTS 1\*<sup>147</sup> and PTS 3\*<sup>148</sup>, however, are not symmetrical images, but in both cases only contain one date palm (figs. 22, 23). The same is true for PTS 4\*<sup>149</sup>, which is also missing the winged disk figure (fig. 24). Thus it seems that in the PTS corpus (first-known dates being around 495 or 494 BCE) there is some movement away from the standard trilingual. Yet this does not harm the gist of the theory. These seals still contain elements of the Court Style seals that we have previously identified: the trilingual, the royal heroic figure, and the date palm. The seals in the PTS corpus should still be considered a part of the same discourse as that of the PFS corpus, since they contain these elements.

We may be seeing in the PTS corpus a development of style during the later stages and after the reign of Darius. For instance, in PTS 1\*, the trilingual is the center of attention as it frames the three elements discussed above. The lack of symmetry should not be considered a “dumbing down” of the style but rather a development, where the redundancies of the unnecessary double elements such as the second date palm were eliminated in favor of a more succinct message. Though we do not know enough about the actual practice of rolling out these seals, we might imagine that the PTS seals were produced in such a way as to preserve the three elements typically associated with royal name seals while conforming to the practicalities of rolling the seal. So PTS 4\* and PTS 1\*, with the iconography of three elements moving from left to right, can be imagined to have been designed to be rolled left to right. If the sealer did not roll the entire length of the seal, he still was able to maintain the three elements, and the message remained the same.

PTS 4\* poses an additional problem in that it contains the royal heroic figure, the date palm, and the trilingual inscription, but lacks the Ahuramazda symbol. This





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Impression of PTS 3\*. From Schmidt, *Persepolis II: Contents of the Treasury and Other Discoveries*, pl. 3. Reprinted with permission of the Research Archives at the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago.



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Impression of PTS 4\*. From Schmidt, *Persepolis II: Contents of the Treasury and Other Discoveries* (1957), pl. 4. Reprinted with permission of the Research Archives at the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago.

is the only royal name seal in which the winged disk figure is missing. Because it occurs in the PTS corpus, I would argue that the elements that *are* present on the seal call to mind the other seals and iconography in the Fortification Archive with Ahuramazda figures, much as Old Persian often stands in for all three languages in monolingual inscriptions. Thus Dusinberre observes that “[s]ome images are particularly common on royal name seals and are only rarely carved on seals that are not inscribed with the name of the king. These images, even when they appear on nonroyal name seals, are still resonant with the significance of the royal name seals.”<sup>150</sup> This tendency can be applied to monolingual inscriptions and those seals that do not contain a certain element, such as the Ahuramazda figure or symmetrical nature of the PFS royal name seals. It speaks to the polyvalence of the imagery from royal name seals and the possibility of making connections to a certain ideology even though a certain element deemed “necessary” by arbitrary guidelines may be absent. Contrary to this idea, the lack of some elements could suggest a devolution of style in the PTS corpus. However, given that Xerxes took great pains to maintain the tenets of the royal program set down by Darius, I believe this is unlikely. What it does reveal is that, in the reign of Darius specifically, the standardization of certain elements associated with the trilingual was uncompromised.

### Developments in Royal Ideology after the Reigns of Darius and Xerxes

The Achaemenid regime continued after the reigns of Darius and Xerxes. Artaxerxes I, king from 465 to 424 BCE, succeeded his father, Xerxes. This succession, too, was not without confusion, as Xerxes had been assassinated, and there were three sons involved in the dynastic situation.<sup>151</sup> Complicit in a conspiracy just like his grandfather Darius, Artaxerxes I came to the throne and eventually consolidated his power.<sup>152</sup> Only one monumental trilingual inscription survives (A1Pa) from his reign, from Palace H at Persepolis, containing a typical formulaic expression of patrilineal succession from Xerxes and an invocation to Ahuramazda. Though Artaxerxes I did make some attempt to create the impression of an uninterrupted Achaemenid line in this inscription, some disruption of the continuity of ideology becomes apparent during his reign, as demonstrated by some changes in the decorative motifs at Persepolis.<sup>153</sup> However, smaller vessels do exist with quadrilingual (cuneiform plus Egyptian hieroglyphics) or trilingual inscriptions.<sup>154</sup>

Our most interesting study of a change in Achaemenid trilinguals occurs in the reign of Artaxerxes II. King from 404 to 358 BCE, Artaxerxes II came to

power after the death of his father, Darius II, though again not without some controversy.<sup>155</sup> He is a most interesting study in a sort of resurgence (and then sharp extinction) of the trilingual inscription. Like his predecessors, Artaxerxes II consistently invoked Ahuramazda, by repeating the formulae of Darius I (e.g., A2Hc, 15–20). However, much more noteworthy is the fact that Artaxerxes II also invoked two other gods, Anahita and Mithra, in his inscriptions. This is the case in A2Sa, Sb, Sd, and A2Ha. Of these, A2Sa (Susa)<sup>156</sup> and A2Ha (Hamadan) are trilingual inscriptions.<sup>157</sup> According to Herrenschildt, Darius had made Ahuramazda his personal god and the god of his family clan, replacing Mithra as the first-place god until the time of Artaxerxes II and III, where Mithra resumed that role once again. Herrenschildt imagines that the institutionalization of Ahuramazda as the great god and the institution of an official cult in honor of the great king (what she calls an “opération Ahura Mazda”) was not a total success given the reappearance of Mithra under Artaxerxes II in the prayers.<sup>158</sup> The attempt at using the trilingual for a nonconventional form such as an invocation of gods in addition to Ahuramazda (and its quick disappearance thereafter) would suggest that the trilingual did not work for this purpose, and further establishes a firm connection between the trilingual, Ahuramazda, and the ideological program of Darius I.

Artaxerxes III, king from 358 to 338 BCE, succeeded to the throne after the death of his father, Artaxerxes II.<sup>159</sup> One monumental trilingual did occur during the reign of Artaxerxes III (A3Pb), an almost exact replica of DNe 1–30. Both are sets of thirty trilingual captions on relief figures on tombs (another multiple of three). It is important to remember that this trilingual inscription appears at Persepolis, the last remaining remnant of the old Achaemenid power established by Darius. Thus we can view this particular inscription as an attempt to continue the ideology so prevalent at Persepolis through the inscriptions of Darius and Xerxes. Admittedly, the epigraphic tradition during this period makes it impossible to make solid conclusions about the ideological leanings of Artaxerxes III. One last fleeting suggestion regarding Artaxerxes III and his interpretation of the Achaemenid tripartite ideology: In the Moscow Artaxerxes cylinder,<sup>160</sup> attributed to Artaxerxes III, a king in a dentate crown pulls three captives behind him. Is there any symbolism in the choice of three captives? Is it possible that this cylinder is a strange perversion of the tripartite ideology of the Achaemenids, drawing the era of the dependence on the “three” for royal ideology to an inverted end? All of the elements discussed above in our royal name seals appear on this seal, so the possibility that it is drawing some sort of subtle connection to previous examples does exist. However, it is impossible to go much further than to conjecture that the imagery on this seal serves as some sort of allusion to the past.



### Late and Post-Achaemenid Trilinguals

The last Achaemenid king before the dynasty came to a close was Darius III. He was conquered by Alexander the Great at the battle of Gaugamela in 331 BCE and died as a fugitive in 330 BCE. But before his reign and after the death of Artaxerxes III, there was a brief period where Arses (Artaxerxes IV), the son of Artaxerxes III, was recognized as king, before his murder by the eunuch Bagoas.<sup>161</sup> During the period after the reigns of Darius I to Artaxerxes III, the trilingual inscription vanished from the Persian region, as far as we can tell from the archaeological record.<sup>162</sup> Yet one important document, known as the Xanthus stele, survives from the reign of Artaxerxes IV. Discovered in 1973, the stele was found in the Leto sanctuary at Xanthus in Lycia. Inscribed in Lycian, Aramaic, and Greek, it describes the citizens of Xanthus in the process of founding a new cult to the god Basileus Kaunios.

The ranking of languages that appeared in the Achaemenid trilingual inscriptions is not as clearly defined in the case of the Xanthus stele, mostly because of its odd arrangement and uncertainties about the Lycian language. This is what we do know: the Lycian inscription, according to Kuhrt, was probably the “original” text.<sup>163</sup> The Aramaic inscription is remarkable in that it is the shortest of the three translations and is also placed in the most inconspicuous position of all three. Lemaire has argued that the Greek text represents the position of the local authorities.<sup>164</sup> In regards to all three languages, Le Roy has argued that Greek was the “*mediateur du pouvoir*,” Aramaic was “*l’instrument de l’empire*,” and Lycian was the language “*des institutions locales et regionales*.”<sup>165</sup> Due to these prevailing arguments, and the fact that the Xanthus trilingual does not present itself in the same vertical form as some of our other trilinguals, it is impossible to reach a consensus on the significance of these languages with relation to one another.

Even if we cannot provide a clear argument regarding the possible ranking of languages on the stele per se, we can assume that the trilingual was probably adopted by the local officials because Xanthus was an area highly influenced by the Achaemenids. Briant corroborates this idea: “... à savoir que, tout au long de la domination achéménide, les communautés locales continuent d’utiliser leurs langues et écritures.”<sup>166</sup> The officials in Xanthus hoped to draw upon the power of the previous examples of the trilingual and thereby make their own power an extension of the Persian kings, just as the satraps at the height of Darius’s empire.

The tradition of the trilingual text survived on the peripheries of the Achaemenid Empire in the third century. The Mauryan king Ashoka (reigned 269–232 BCE), a follower of the Buddha who may have had contact with the Seleucid kings,<sup>167</sup> was fervent in his expression of royal edicts in the form of inscriptions on rock, in caves, and on pillars. Though no trilingual versions exist, many of his extant inscriptions were bilingual and utilized the Prakrit, Greek, and Aramaic languages.<sup>168</sup> Though it

is a matter of debate, the edicts appear to “owe something to the pervasive influence of Achaemenid architecture and sculpture,” while also exhibiting Greek stylistic elements.<sup>169</sup> However it may be, the multilingualism of the inscriptions together with their choice medium (rock carving) provides evidence as to the force of the tradition begun by Darius at Bisitun (here, reimagined and recreated for a different temporal and cultural situation, albeit within the realm of the Achaemenid Persian Empire). The major rock edicts, sixteen in number, were heretofore unprecedented in India. Ashoka’s reworking of Achaemenid traditions for his own purposes recalled the manipulation of the medium for local purposes during the Achaemenid period (e.g., the statue of Darius from Susa) while also foreshadowing the propagandistic revival of the trilingual that occurred under the Sassanians.

After the reign of Ashoka, it was a century before another trilingual text appeared in the ancient record. Probably the most famous of all, the Rosetta stone was a decree of Ptolemy V regarding taxes and the erection of statues. It was found in the purview of Ptolemy’s empire in Rashid, on the Mediterranean coast of Egypt. In hieroglyphs, demotic characters, and Greek, the Rosetta stone was commissioned in 196 BCE. The stone itself maintains this linguistic organization in order from top to bottom: hieroglyphs (“the writing of the divine words”); demotic (“the writing of documents”); Greek (“the writing of the Ionians [local people]”).<sup>170</sup> Its purpose, “to witness to the Pharaoh’s benevolence towards his people and his piety towards the gods,”<sup>171</sup> was similar to that of the other previous trilinguals we have studied. Other priestly decrees from Egypt, recorded by Huss in a 1991 article,<sup>172</sup> exhibit the same linguistic arrangement as the Rosetta stone. Thus, a trend emerges in the record of trilingual inscriptions: they were all located in the immediate area of Achaemenid Persia or in regions that the Achaemenids ruled and were used to express the power of the local regent with respect to his people and his god.<sup>173</sup>

Achaemenid influence on Roman culture is the subject of new work, including a recent dissertation by Ben Rubin, who studies the Romans in Asia Minor during the Julio-Claudian period.<sup>174</sup> In terms of the trilingual, one of our most interesting examples in the post-Achaemenid period is the inscription of Gallus in Egypt from 29 BCE, celebrating his accomplishments as *Aegypti praefectus* during the reign of Augustus. The inscription appears in Greek, Latin, and hieroglyphics. Though it occurs again in a complicated milieu of a burgeoning regime (this time, the future Roman Emperor Augustus), we can discern some particular characteristics about the monument. Dorothy Thompson and Ludwig Koenen argue that the Egyptian priests erected this monument for Gallus. Though there are interesting textual differences between each language’s depiction of what happened,<sup>175</sup> ultimately Gallus appears in a pharaonic position, through his formulaic thanks to the Nile for its help in his victories. This is, of course, an unwelcome outcome





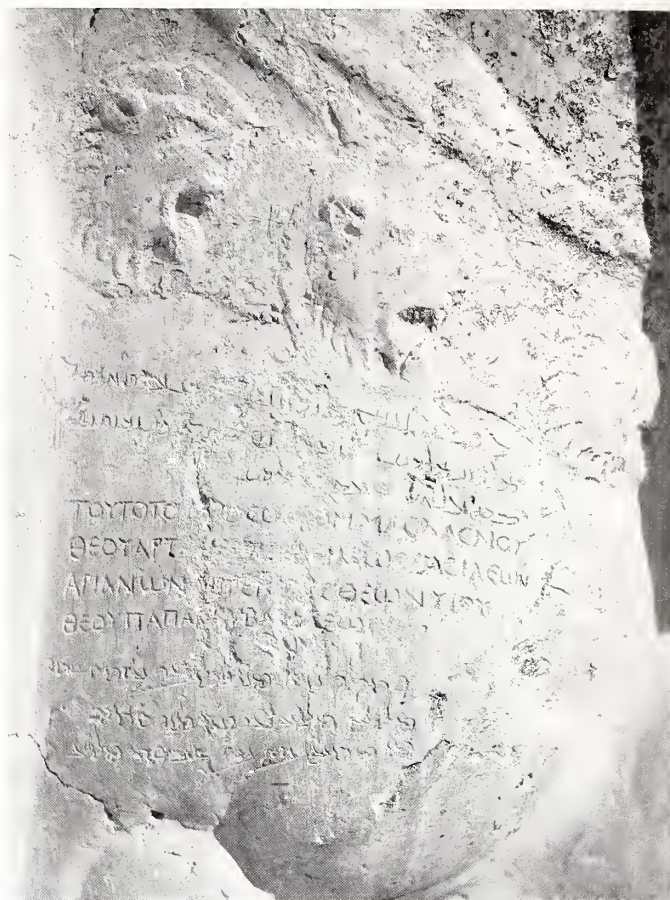
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Naqsh-e Rostam. Photo by  
Jennifer Finn.

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Trilingual inscriptions on the  
horses of Artashir I. From  
Schmidt, *Persepolis III: The Royal  
Tombs and Other Monuments*  
(1970), pl. 82. Reprinted with  
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Archives at the Oriental Institute  
at the University of Chicago.



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in Roman eyes, and we have to understand that the Egyptian priests would have known this would be the effect of the monument. Thus we can conjecture that the Egyptian priests might have been conspiring against Gallus while seeming to do him honor. In either case (whether it was at his own initiative or at the priests') the influence of the Achaemenid trilingual inscriptions maintains its symbolic power within this context. No matter the instigators for the construction of this stele, Thompson and Koenen prove that it was a cause for Gallus's recall back to Rome: "By using it for his own deeds, Gallus claimed what belonged to Octavian. [Though the literal meanings of all three texts should not have strained their relationship due to its panegyric nature], the Greeks, however, familiar with the rituals and myths of Egyptian kingship, would have understood Gallus' *faux pas* and could have caused the incriminating reports to Rome that finally lead to Gallus' recall ...[to] Rome."<sup>176</sup> This implies that the problem with the inscription was its allusion to Egyptian kingship. But we must remember that cross-cultural interactions between the Achaemenids and Egypt likely effected some principles of Egyptian kingship, and the satraps in these areas may have used the trilingual (like the Gordion seal or Daskyleion bullae) to evoke the powers of the Achaemenid kings. Thus, we can infer that the association with the Achaemenid trilinguals and their symbolic powers might have been the most salient problem with the Gallus inscription. Octavian may have recognized Gallus's use of the Achaemenid example as an implicit threat to his own imperial power and thus recalled Gallus for insubordination. After Gallus's return to Rome, he received a *renuntiatio amici-*





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Ka'abah-e Zardusht. Photo by  
Jennifer Finn.

*tiae* and committed suicide. Through the example of the Gallus monument, we can see that the symbolism of the Achaemenid trilingual remained commanding and memorable long after the extinction of the regime.<sup>177</sup>

The last documented appearance of the trilingual inscription in the ancient world is during the period of the Sassanians, successors to the Persian Empire, during the third century CE. These rulers purposefully recalled the trilingual inscriptions of the Achamenids in their inscriptions on reliefs at Naqsh-e Rostam (figs. 25, 26). The inscriptions, located on the king's horses on the reliefs,<sup>178</sup> name the kings Ardashir I and Shapur I as "Mazda-worshipping." The most important Sassanian inscriptions are located at the same site, alternating three languages on the walls of the Ka'abah-e Zardusht (fig. 27), allegedly an Achaemenid fire temple.<sup>179</sup> The languages on these particular inscriptions are Middle Persian, Greek, and Parthian. Herrenschildt posits for the Middle Persian language, which replaced Old Persian as the primary language: "The Achaemenid formulary, established under Darius in the final years of the sixth century, was resumed by the first Sassanian kings in the third century AD and was written in the language of that time, Middle Persian in Pahlavi script. The language changed and the writing system was entirely altered, but the symbolic status of the royal speech did not vary."<sup>180</sup> Thus the Sassanians understood the power of the trilingual inscriptions to make a close connection between the king and religious ideas and placed them in a location widely known to have associations with Achaemenid iconography and ideology. We see, then, that the symbolism behind the trilingual inscription (the king's reciprocal relationship

with the god, defining boundaries of the empire, etc.) remained recognizable to later generations and was deemed pertinent to their own royal associations with the cosmic and the terrestrial. This is made clear by the fact that the trilingual only survives after the Achaemenid period in areas that were heavily influenced by that regime. The use of the trilingual inscription in later periods proves Darius's original intention in its utilization as a symbol recognizable to a multifarious audience with several layers of inherent meaning.

The trilingual inscription, then, stood as a primary element for the articulation of Darius's power as the first Achaemenid king. Its influence spanned from the smallest seals used for administrative purposes to the largest monumental architectural reliefs, a definitive image of the empire in all its aspects for a wide array of audiences. The tripartite symbolism inherent in the trilingual and its associated iconography was reworked from earlier precedents to create a new ideology that would help form the basis for a legitimate kingship, encompassing the king's special relationship to the god and his people. Thus we can understand Darius's adoption of the trilingual as an action "on the basis of an awareness of the fact that the enlargement of [Achaemenid] rule required deliberate new solutions."<sup>181</sup> The trilingual's inherent ideology of language ranking, royal power, and religious association even carried over into the post-Achaemenid period, where the continued influence of Darius's invention remained.

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## APPENDIXES

### Appendix 1: Trilingual Texts from the World of Achaemenid Persia

This list only attempts to be comprehensive with respect to trilingual texts within the chronological and geopolitical sphere of the Achaemenid Empire. It incorporates (under separate categories) trilingual texts known from pre- and post-Achaemenid times in order to highlight their rarity and their persistence in specific contexts that demonstrate the prolonged impact of the Achaemenid experience in the wake of this empire. Monolingual and bilinguals are not included in this table (but see appendix 2 and numerous commentaries in the text). Quadrilingual texts of the Achaemenid Empire (Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian plus Egyptian) are included here because they develop out of the strategy of trilingual presentation while incorporating Egyptian as the fourth language in acknowledgment of specific circumstances of that regional context. The list is complete to the best of my knowledge; all omissions are mine and mine alone. I have listed the languages in order from top to bottom when they appear vertically in the ancient inscriptions, and from left to right when they appear horizontally. In cases where this system does not apply, I have added a note. All artifacts included in the table are discussed in the main body of the article; main references for these artifacts can be found in footnotes.

#### *\*List of abbreviations*

The conventions for listing inscriptions on small objects or larger monuments is to indicate the reign of the king, followed by the place, followed by a small letter which identifies the number of the text at the site (a=first text at site, c=third text at site, and so on).

C=Cyrus II	M=Pasargadae	OP=Old Persian
D=Darius I	P=Persepolis	El=Elamite
X=Xerxes	H=Hamadan	Bab.=Babylonian
A=Artaxerxes I	S=Susa	Eg=Egyptian hieroglyphs
A2=Artaxerxes II	Z=Suez	
A3=Artaxerxes III	E=Elvend	
	B=Bisitun	
	N=Naqsh-e Rostam	
	W=weight	
	V=vessel	

\*Conventions for PFS seals are based on Mark B. Garrison and Margaret Cool Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets Volume I: Images of Heroic Encounter Part I: Text*, Oriental Institute Publications, vol. 117 (Chicago: The Oriental



Institute of the University of Chicago, 2001), p. 1. Two more volumes of Garrison and Root's project on the seals on the Fortification tablets are forthcoming. The seals impressed on tablets from the Fortification Archive are listed as PFS (Persepolis Fortification Seal). The seals are numbered by their frequency of use in the archive (e.g., PFS 1 is used with the most frequency), and are marked with a \* when they are inscribed in any language. The PFS category refers to those Elamite tablets in the Garrison and Root corpus. These tablets were first treated by Richard T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969). Tablets recently determined to be of a different categorical nature are labeled according to their own distinct rubric (for which, see below PFS 1683\*, which has now been determined to be of a different nature than the rest of the PFS corpus and thus has been renamed). Those labeled PFUTS indicate a Persepolis Tablet that is uninscribed but does exhibit a seal impression. Seals are listed by their first-known usage date as determined via information contained in tablet texts or the more general timeframe of an archive.

\*Conventions for PTS seals originate from E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis II: Contents of the Treasury and Other Discoveries*, Oriental Institute Publications, vol. 60 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 4. The seals impressed on tablets from the Persepolis Treasury are listed as PTS (Persepolis Treasury Seal) and are given numbers; when inscribed they are appended with an asterisk (e.g., PTS 1\*).

### *Pre-Achaemenid Trilinguals*

Text	Provenance	Date	Languages	Topic	Notes
Hymn (KUB 4.4)	Boghazköy, Turkey	Mid-6th c BCE	Sumerian, Akkadian, Hittite	Hymn to the storm-god Iškur-Adad	Hymnic text, possibly with didactic function
"İncirli" trilingual: inscription on stone which served as a sort of road marker	Karamanmarash Valley in present-day Turkey	8th c BCE (Neo-Assyrian)	Neo-Assyrian, Hieroglyphic Luvian, Phoenician	Military victories of Awarikku, king of Que; pays homage to the Assyrian Empire	Later overwritten with Greek text

### *Achaemenid Trilinguals: Darius*

Text	Provenance	Date	Languages	Topic	Notes
DB; inscription on rock face at Mount Bisitun	Media; royal road from Hamadan to Babylon	520–519 BCE	OP, El, Bab	Depicts and describes victory over Gaumata, pretender to Persian throne	
DSf; numerous exemplars found at Susa in the form of brick and stone tablets	Susa	ca. 520 BCE	OP, El, Bab	Construction of the palace at Susa; enumeration of people of the empire	One of the earliest foundation inscriptions from Iran (Darius mentions father Hystaspes as still living)
DSe; numerous exemplars found at Susa in the form of stone and clay tablets, and a cask	Susa	ca. 520 BCE	OP, El, Bab	List of peoples; pacification of empire; prayer to Ahuramazda	

DSc; column base in Palace of Darius	Susa	ca. 520 BCE	OP, El, Bab	Royal titulary	
DSj; column base in Palace of Darius	Susa	ca. 520 BCE	OP, El, Bab	Royal titulary; prayer to Ahura Mazda	
DSm; glazed brick forming a frieze in hall of Palace of Darius	Susa	ca. 520 BCE	OP, El, Bab	List of countries over which Darius became king	
DSn; written on garment of a fragmentary statue of Darius	Susa	ca. 520 BCE	OP, El, Bab	Order of king for construction of statue and prayer to Ahuramazda	
DSy; column base in Palace of Darius	Susa	ca. 520 BCE	OP, El, Bab	Royal titulary; appeal to Ahuramazda	
DE; cut in cliff side near waterfall on Mt. Elvend	Gandj Nameh (near Hamadan; Elvend)	Reign of Darius (522–486 BCE)	OP, El, Bab	Royal titulary; appeal to Ahuramazda	Some have postulated that DE was inscribed posthumously along with XE (see below)
Chalouf stele; inscribed on five separate pieces of granite (only this one survives)	Kabret, Egypt	518 BCE	Inscribed on two faces, one in trilingual (OP, El, Bab: DZb and DZc), one in Egyptian hieroglyphics	Trilingual: praise to Ahuramazda; royal titulary of Darius; building of canal. Egyptian hieroglyphs: similar text	
DSab; quadrilingual inscription on the statue of Darius	Susa (made in Egypt and later transported to Susa)	ca. 518 BCE	Trilingual (OP, El, Bab): inscribed on right-hand pleats of statue. Egyptian hieroglyphics: on belt, left-hand pleats, surface and sides of base	Trilingual: cosmogonic address, construction of statue in Egypt, glory of the Persian people, royal titulary, formulaic protective prayer. Egyptian hieroglyphs: Darius as son of Re; prosperity Darius has brought to kingdom; labels for figures of subject lands	
DPa; palace of Darius, inscription placed above figures of the king and attendants	Persepolis	Reign of Darius (522–486 BCE)	OP, El, Bab	Royal titulary and foundation inscription; arranged in mirror image so that person entering always sees OP version first	
DPb; Reliefs on the palaces of Darius and Xerxes; south doorway of the Tachara	Persepolis	Reign of Darius (522–486 BCE)	OP, El, Bab	Royal titulary	
DPc; “A stone window frame made at the palace of king Darius” (acc. to Schmitt 2000, 55)	Persepolis	Reign of Darius (522–486 BCE)	OP, El, Bab	Construction of window by Darius	Extant in 18 identical copies

DPH; Gold and silver foundation tablets from the Apadana; discovered in stone box along with coin depositions	Persepolis	ca. 515 BCE	OP, El, Bab	Identical to DH, from Hamadan; royal titulary, indication of extent of empire, prayer for help from Ahuramazda	
DH; gold and silver foundation tablets	Purportedly from Hamadan	ca. 515 BCE	OP, El, Bab	Royal titulary; describes extent of empire and appeal to Ahuramazda	Identical to DPh
DPI; on "doorknobs" in the palace of Darius	Persepolis	Reign of Darius (522–486 BCE)	OP, El, Bab	Doorknob produced by Darius	
DPJ; on a block fallen from the west jamb of the eastern doorway of the palace of Darius; inscription placed above the king and his attendants	Persepolis	Reign of Darius (522–486 BCE)	OP, El, Bab	Identical with DPb. King represented is Xerxes, not Darius	Fragmentary
CMa=DMA; originally located in Gate R, on northeast doorjamb above the winged figure; also survives in copies in Palace S and Palace P on stone anta	Pasargadae	Reign of Darius (522–486 BCE)	OP, El, Bab	Royal titulary of Cyrus, "an Achaemenian"	Text added by Darius; no longer extant on Gate R
CMB=DMb; carved above the relief of Darius with attendants in Palace P	Pasargadae	Reign of Darius (522–486 BCE)	OP, El, Bab	Royal titulary	Text added by Darius
CMc=DMc; carved on folds of royal garment on relief in Palace P	Pasargadae	Reign of Darius (522–486 BCE)	OP, El, Bab	Royal titulary	Text added by Darius
DWa–d inscribed on pyramidal weights of basalt or diorite	a=unknown b=near Kirman c & d= Persepolis	Reign of Darius (522–486 BCE)	OP, El, Bab (order not uniform)	Royal titulary	
DVS; inscribed on a vessel	?	Reign of Darius (522–486 BCE)	OP, El, Bab (order unknown)	Royal titulary	
PFS 7*	Persepolis	First attested use: 503–2 BCE	OP, El, Bab	Royal titulary	
PFS 11*	Persepolis	First attested use: 503–2 BCE	OP, El, Bab	Royal titulary	
PFS 1683* / PFUTS 0018*	Persepolis	Reign of Darius (522–486, per archival context)	OP, El, Bab	Unknown	



DNa; upper register of Darius's tomb	Naqsh-i Rostam	Early to middle reign of Darius (500 BCE)	OP, El, Bab	Pacification of the people of the empire; political autobiography	
DNb; lower register of Darius's tomb	Naqsh-i Rostam	Early to middle reign of Darius (500 BCE)	OP, El, Bab	Theological and moral testament	
DNc; honorific text for Gobryas (accomplice? See Herodotus 3.70.1); lance carrier of Darius	Naqsh-i Rostam	Early to middle reign of Darius (500 BCE)	OP, El, Bab	Honorific text for Gobryas	
DNd; honorific text for Aspathines (accomplice? See Herodotus 3.70.1) bow bearer of Darius	Naqsh-i Rostam	Early to middle reign of Darius (500 BCE)	OP, El, Bab	Honorific text for Aspathines	
DNe	Naqsh-i Rostam	Early to middle reign of Darius (500 BCE)	OP, El, Bab	Captions of the people who support the throne of Darius	
PFS 113* = PTS 4*	Persepolis	Carved in reign of Darius; first attested use: 495-494 BCE	OP, El, Bab	Royal titulary	Seal of Baradkama
PTS 3*	Persepolis	Carved in reign of Darius; first attested use date 489-88 BCE	OP, El, Bab	Royal titulary of Darius; attested in use during the reign of Xerxes	
PTS 1*	Persepolis	Carved in reign of Darius; first attested use 484 BCE during reign of Xerxes	OP, El, Bab	Royal titulary of Darius	
PTS 2*	Persepolis	Carved in reign of Darius; first attested use 481-80 BCE	OP, El, Bab	Royal titulary of Darius; used in the reign of Xerxes	
SDa: London Darius cylinder	Purportedly discovered at Thebes (Egypt)	Assumed to have been carved in reign of Darius I rather than a later Darius	OP, El, Bab	Royal titulary of Darius (I?)	

### *Achaemenid Trilinguals: Xerxes*

Text	Provenance	Date	Languages	Topic	Notes
PTS 7*	Persepolis	486–65 BCE (reign of Xerxes; first attested use unknown)	OP, El, Bab.	Royal titulary of Xerxes	
XPa; engraved on the inner walls of the Gate of All Lands	Persepolis	Early in reign of Xerxes (486–65 BCE)	OP, El, Bab	Incorporates portions of DNa and DE; construction of the Gate	
XPb; northern and eastern stairways of the Apadana	Persepolis	Early in reign of Xerxes (486–65 BCE)	OP, El, Bab (OP version separated)	Royal titulary, prayer to Ahuramazda	2 examples
XPc; west, south, and east walls of the palace of Darius	Persepolis	Early in reign of Xerxes (486–65 BCE)	OP, El, Bab	Construction of edifice by Darius	3 examples
XPd; stairs and portico of the palace of Xerxes	Persepolis	Early in reign of Xerxes (486–65 BCE)	OP, El, Bab	Royal titulary; appeal to Ahuramazda; construction of the palace of Xerxes	4 examples
XPe; door jambs in the palace of Xerxes	Persepolis	Early in reign of Xerxes (486–65 BCE)	OP, El, Bab	Royal titulary	14 examples
XPg; glazed bricks from the Apadana	Persepolis	Early in reign of Xerxes (486–65 BCE)	OP, El, Bab	Formulaic praise to Ahuramazda; glorification of constructions of Darius and Xerxes; similar to DPh	
XPh; A foundation text on stone tablets found in secondary usage contexts: the “Daiva inscription”	Persepolis; Pasargadae	Early in reign of Xerxes (486–65 BCE)	OP, El, Bab	In beginning parts, identical to intro. paragraphs of DNa; list of people; repression of revolt of people who subscribed to the Daiva (demon?)	
XPi; base of a column and a number of fragments in the “harem” of Xerxes	Persepolis	Early in reign of Xerxes (486–65 BCE)	OP, El, Bab	Parallel to DPi	
XPj; column bases in the “queen’s apartments,” palace of Xerxes	Persepolis	Early in reign of Xerxes (486–65 BCE)	OP, El, Bab	Royal titulary; construction of the palace of Xerxes	
XPm; column base and many fragments from the palace of Xerxes, incl. the harem	Persepolis	Early in reign of Xerxes (486–65 BCE)	OP, El, Bab	Construction of the palace of Xerxes	

XPn; column fragment from terrace west of Palace H (Palace of Artaxerxes)	Persepolis	Early in reign of Xerxes (486–65 BCE)	OP, El, Bab	Lineage of Xerxes	
XPp; garment of the figure of Xerxes in main hall of his palace	Persepolis	Early in reign of Xerxes (486–65 BCE)	OP, El, Bab	Royal titulary; identical to XPe, XPq, and XPr	
XPq; window frames in the hadish of Xerxes	Persepolis	Early in reign of Xerxes (486–65 BCE)	OP, El, Bab	Identical to XPp, XPe, and XPr	
XPr; frames of the doorways in the hadish of Xerxes	Persepolis	Early in reign of Xerxes (486–65 BCE)	OP, El, Bab	Identical to XPq, XPe, and XPr	
XSa; column bases	Susa	Early in reign of Xerxes (486–65 BCE)	OP, El, Bab	Royal titulary; foundation attributed to Xerxes's father Darius	
XSd; column bases on the portico	Susa	Early in reign of Xerxes (486–65 BCE)	OP, El, Bab	Royal titulary; foundation attributed to Xerxes's father Darius	
XV; inscribed on cliff face	Van (capital of ancient Armenia)	Early in reign of Xerxes (486–65 BCE)	OP, El, Bab	Darius prepared place for inscription but did not leave an inscription, so Xerxes left one claiming Darius as inscriber	
XE; on rock face at Mt. Elvend, adjacent to DE	Mount Elvend, at Ganj Nameh near Hamadan	Early in reign of Xerxes (486–65 BCE)	OP, El, Bab	See DE	
XVS; inscribed on vessels (occur in trilingual and quadrilingual format); all but two are of aragonite	Some unknown; majority discovered at Susa, and one at the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus	Reign of Xerxes (486–65 BCE)	OP, El, Bab (some with Eg attached)	Royal titulary	35 examples

### *Achaemenid Trilinguals: Artaxerxes I*

Text	Provenance	Date	Languages	Topic	Notes
A1Va; trilingually inscribed on the inner rim of 4 silver <i>phiale</i> ; quadrilingually inscribed on alabaster vessels and granite pitchers	Trilingual vessels linked to both Hamadan and Persepolis; quadrilingual vessels found in Susa or purchased in Egypt	Reign of Artaxerxes I (465–24 BCE)	OP, El, Bab (sometimes Eg included)	Genealogy of Artaxerxes I (sometimes including his production of the vessel)	At least 8 examples



### *Achaemenid Trilinguals: Artaxerxes II*

Text	Provenance	Date	Languages	Topic	Notes
A2Ha; column base of black diorite	Hamadan (Ecbatana)	Reign of Artaxerxes II (404–358 BCE)	OP, El, Bab	Invokes Ahuramazda, Anahita, Mithra	2 examples
A2Pa; on tomb façade above Persepolis platform	Persepolis	Reign of Artaxerxes II (404–358 BCE)	OP, El, Bab	People who decorated the tomb of Artaxerxes II	
A2Sa; on four column bases	Susa	Reign of Artaxerxes II (404–358 BCE)	OP, El, Bab	Foundation inscription for Apadana; Ahuramazda, Anahita, and Mithra all invoked	
A2Sb; on a column base	Susa	Reign of Artaxerxes II (404–358 BCE)	OP, El, Bab	Royal titulary and lineage	Many examples
A2Sd; on column bases	Susa	Reign of Artaxerxes II (404–358 BCE)	OP, El, Bab	Royal titulary; foundation inscription	Numerous fragments

### *Achaemenid Trilinguals: Artaxerxes III*

Text	Provenance	Date	Languages	Topic	Notes
A3Pb; on tomb façade above Persepolis platform	Persepolis	Reign of Artaxerxes III (358–338 BCE)	OP, El, Bab	Captions identifying 30 throne bearers	Almost exact replica of DNe 1–30

### *Achaemenid Trilinguals: Artaxerxes IV*

Text	Provenance	Date	Languages	Topic	Notes
Xanthus stele; found in Leto sanctuary	Xanthus, Lycia	337 BC, during reign of Artaxerxes IV (Arses)	Lycian, Aramaic, Greek	Citizens of Xanthus found a new cult	

### *Post-Achaemenid Trilinguals: Egypt*

Text	Provenance	Date	Languages	Topic	Notes
Synodal decree 3a	Elephantine	243 BC, during reign of Ptolemy III (Euergetes I)?	Greek, demotic, Eg.		
Synodal decree 5a	Tanis	238 BC, during reign of Ptolemy III (Euergetes I)	Greek, demotic, Eg.	Results of a priestly meeting in Alexandria, celebrating the birthday and anniversary of the kings	

Synodal decree 5b	Kom el-Hisn	238 BC, during reign of Ptolemy III (Euergetes I)	Greek, demotic, Eg.	Results of a priestly meeting in Alexandria, celebrating the birthday and anniversary of the kings
Synodal decree 5c	Cairo	238 BC, during reign of Ptolemy III (Euergetes I)	Greek, demotic, Eg.	Results of a priestly meeting in Alexandria, celebrating the birthday and anniversary of the kings
Synodal decree 8a	Memphis	217 BC, during reign of Ptolemy IV	Greek, demotic, Eg.	A decree in honor of Ptolemy IV, re: the victory in the 4th Syrian War
Synodal decree 8b	Pithom	217 BC, during reign of Ptolemy IV	Greek, demotic, Eg.	A decree in honor of Ptolemy IV, re: the victory in the 4th Syrian War
Synodal decree 8c	Tuphion	217 BC, during reign of Ptolemy IV	Greek, demotic, Eg.	A decree in honor of Ptolemy IV, re: the victory in the 4th Syrian War
Rosetta stone	Rashid (Med. Coast in Egypt)	196 BC, during reign of Ptolemy V	Greek, demotic, Eg.	Decree of Ptolemy V regarding taxes and the erection of statues
Synodal decree 10b	Elephantine	196 BC, during reign of Ptolemy V	Greek, demotic, Eg.	Celebration of the coronation of the king
Synodal decree 17	?	112 BC, during reign of Cleopatra III	Greek, demotic, Eg.	Decree of the priests of Amun, not Egyptian priestly college
Trilingual inscription of Gallus	Egypt	29 BCE	Greek, Latin, Eg.	Celebration of Gallus's accomplishments as <i>praefectus Aegypti</i>

### *Sassanian Trilinguals*

Text	Provenance	Date	Languages	Topic	Notes
NRu1; carved on king's horses	Naqsh-i Rostam	226 AD, during reign of Ardashir I	Greek, Middle Persian, Parthian	Commemorates coronation of Ardashir I	
Relief NRe III; carved on the king's horses	Naqsh-i Rostam	Reign of Shapur I (241–72 CE)	Middle Persian, Greek, Parthian	Identification of Shapur I	
Ka'abeh-i Zardusht; east, south, and west walls of the stone Achaemenid tower	Naqsh-i Rostam	Reign of Shapur I (241–72 CE)	Middle Persian, Greek, Parthian	<i>res gestae</i> of Shapur I	

## Appendix 2: Royal Name Seals from the World of Achaemenid Persia

All seals for Darius I are referenced from M. B. Garrison, "The Royal Name Seals of Darius I," (forthcoming, 2011). Information for the Daskyleion bullae is derived from Deniz Kaptan, *The Daskyleion Bullae: Seal Images from the Western Achaemenid Empire Vols. I and II: Achaemenid History XII* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut Voor Het Nabije Oosten, 2002). As in appendix 1, all dates for seals are listed by earliest known application date.

For the tablets upon which the seals are impressed, please see M.B. Garrison and A. Kuhrt, *Persepolis Seal Studies: An Introduction with Provisional Concordances of Seal Numbers and Associated Documents on Fortification Tablets 1-2087: Achaemenid History IX* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1998).

### Abbreviations

DS: Daskyleion Seal

All other abbreviations are the same as in appendix 1.

### Pre-Achaemenid Seals

Seal	Provenance	Date	Inscription	Language/Arrangement	Style/Iconographical Features
PFS 93*	Persepolis	559–30 BC, during reign of Cyrus I; used for generations afterward in same venue as seals of Darius I	"Cyrus of Anšan, son of Teispes"	Elamite (vertical panel)	Figure on horseback spearing fleeing figure

### Seals in the Reign of Darius I

Seal	Provenance	Date	Inscription	Language/Arrangement	Style/Iconographical Features
PFS 11*	Persepolis	503–2 BCE, during reign of Darius	"I am Darius"	OP, El, Bab (vertical panel)	Ahuramazda figure above; altar symbol with "worship" scene; palm trees flank scene (Court Style)
PFS 7*	Persepolis; also appears on Elamite tablet at Susa	50–2 BCE, during reign of Darius	"I am Darius"	OP, El, Bab (vertical panel)	Bearded hero holds two rampant bulls by the horn; Ahuramazda figure above; palm trees flank scene (Court Style)
PFS 113* = PTS 4*	Persepolis	495–94 BCE; carved in reign of Darius; first attested use in reign of Xerxes	"I am Darius"	OP, El, Bab (vertical panel)	Right-facing hero holds two rampant human-headed bulls by foreleg (Court Style)
PTS 3*	Persepolis	489–88 BCE, during reign of Darius; first attested use in reign of Xerxes	"I am Darius"	OP, El, Bab (vertical panel)	Right-facing hero in Persian court robe holds two inverted lions by the hind leg; date palm to left of field (Court Style)



PTS 1*	Persepolis	484 BCE; carved in reign of Darius; first attested use in reign of Xerxes	"I am Darius"	OP, El, Bab (vertical panel)	Left-facing hero, extends right arm to grasp rampant winged, bird-headed lion by the throat; straight left arm holds jagged weapon; date palm to left of field (Court Style)
PTS 2*	Persepolis	481–80 BCE; carved in reign of Darius; first attested use in reign of Xerxes	"I am Darius"	OP, El, Bab (vertical panel)	Left-facing hero in Persian court robe, holds two rampant, winged, horned lions by the throat (Court Style)
SDa (London Darius cylinder)	Purportedly discovered in Thebes (Egypt)	522–486 BCE (reign of Darius)?	"Darius the Great King"	OP, El, Bab (vertical panel)	Lion hunt from a chariot pulled by two horses; figure in chariot is crowned, draws bow and arrow, in Persian court robe
PFS 1683*= P FUTS 18*	Persepolis	522–486 BC, during reign of Darius (as per archival context)	"I am Darius the Great King"	OP, El, Bab (vertical panel)	Hero in Persian court robe holds two inverted lions above pedestal creatures; Ahuramazda figure above; palm trees flank scene (Court Style)

### *Seals in the Reign of Xerxes*

Seal	Provenance	Date	Inscription	Language/Arrangement	Style/Iconographical Features
PTS 5*	Persepolis	467–66 BCE, during reign of Xerxes	"Xerxes the Great King"	OP (vertical panel)	Right-facing hero in Persian court robe, holds two human- headed bulls by the foreleg; Ahuramazda figure above; date palm to left of scene (Court Style)
PTS 6*	Persepolis	470–67 BCE, during reign of Xerxes	"I am Xerxes the King"	OP (vertical panel)	Right-facing hero holds two inverted lions above two pedestal creatures; Ahuramazda figure above; palm trees flank scene (Court Style)
PTS 7*	Persepolis	486–65 BCE (reign of Xerxes)	"Xerxes [the (Great?) King]"	OP, El, Bab (vertical panel)	Right-facing hero holds two rampant winged bulls; Ahuramazda figure above; palm trees flank scene (Court Style)
PTS 8*	Persepolis	466–65 BCE, during reign of Xerxes	"I am Xerxes the [Great?] King"	OP (vertical panel)	Two opposite-facing Persians stab two crossed lions; Ahuramazda figure above; date palm to right of right Persian (Court Style)

DS2 (SXg)	Daskyleion	486–65 BCE (reign of Xerxes) ?	"I am Xerxes, the King"	Alternating OP and Bab (vertical panel)	Two human-headed winged bulls face one another; Ahuramazda figure above
DS3 (SXf)	Daskyleion	486–65 BCE (reign of Xerxes) ?	"I am Xerxes, the King"	OP (vertical panel)	Hero holds in left hand winged lion by horn; holds weapon in straight right hand; date palms flank scene

### *Seals in the Reign of Artaxerxes I*

Seal	Provenance	Date	Inscription	Language/Arrangement	Style/Iconographical Features
DS4 (SA1a)	Daskyleion	465–24 BCE, during reign of Artaxerxes I (?)	"I am Artaxerxes the king"	OP (vertical panel)	Audience scene
SA1b	Daskyleion	465–24 BCE, during reign of Artaxerxes I (?)	"I am Artaxerxes the king"	OP (vertical panel)	Audience scene

### *Fifth Century BCE Seals (uncertain date)*

Seal	Provenance	Date	Inscription	Language/Arrangement	Style/Iconographical Features
Cat. 33 seal	Gordion	5th c BCE (based on paleographic evidence)	"Seal of B, son of Ztw, (hayashana)."	Aramaic (vertical panel)	Two crowned "worshipping" figures face one another, standing atop winged pedestal creatures; Ahuramazda figure in circle at bottom with altar symbol atop; larger winged Ahuramazda figure hovers above scene

### *Seals in the Reign of Artaxerxes III (?)*

Seal	Provenance	Date	Inscription	Language/Arrangement	Style/Iconographical Features
Artaxerxes Seal	Housed in Moscow	425–338 BCE (reign of Artaxerxes III) ?	"I am Artaxerxes the Great King"	OP (vertical panel)	Crowned figure in Persian court robe pulls three bound prisoners behind him by a rope; palm tree to left of prisoners

## NOTES

My sincerest gratitude to Margaret Root and Ben Fortson for their commentary on earlier drafts of this paper.

- 1 I distinguish between the “Persian Empire” and the “Achaemenid Persian Empire,” where Cyrus is the founder of the former, Darius the latter. Daniel Potts, “The Elamites and their Contribution to the Creation of Iran” in *Birth of the Persian Empire*, ed. Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis and Sarah Stewart (London, New York: I. B. Tauris, 2004), p. 23, argues that Darius’s reign indicated the commencement of the *Achaemenid* or Persian Empire, where Cyrus was a member of an Anshanite dynasty and was defined by his Elamite identity. Detractors include Henkelman, who stresses that Cyrus’s Elamite roots must not be pushed too far, denying the distinct division between the Achaemenid and Teispid lines proposed by Potts. He assumes a difference between Persian *kingship* and Persian *identity*, assuming that Cyrus was of a family from the highlands, which would have identified themselves with the “Persians” or “inhabitants of Parsa.” See Wouter Henkelman, *The Other Gods Who Are: Studies in Elamite-Iranian Acculturation Based on the Persepolis Fortification Texts: Achaemenid History XIV* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2008), pp. 55–56.
- 2 Cambyes, the son of Cyrus (founder of the Persian Empire) had come to the throne. Soon, Cambyes killed his brother Bardiya, apparently with such secrecy that his death was not known to the people. On the murder of Bardiya: Herodotus 3.30; Ctesias (Persia; *FGrH* 688 F 13 11–15); Justin 1.9.4–13. After the death of Cambyes’s brother, rebellions arose in Persia, headed by Gaumata, a Persian *magus*. Gaumata laid claim to the Persian throne, professing to be Bardiya, the son of Cyrus, and soon gained power in all the Persian territories. Cambyes, who had concentrated his attentions on the invasion of Egypt, soon died. The turmoil necessitated swift action if the Persian Empire was to obtain stable leadership. Darius, understanding that Gaumata was not the real Bardiya, headed a conspiracy against this pretender (the famous “Conspiracy of the Seven Nobles”) and attained the kingship. This is the version of events given in DB §10–13 (Darius’s inscriptions at Bisitun, to be discussed in much detail later). The same story occurs in Hdt. 3.1–38; 61–88, disagreeing with Darius’s account only with respect to details. There is a vast literature on this subject. For a brief summary of the differences between the accounts of Darius and Herodotus, see Elias J. Bickerman and H. Tadmor, “Darius I, Pseudo-Smerdis, and the Magi,” *Athenaeum* 56 (1978), pp. 239–61. See also Igor Gershevitch, “The False Smerdis,” *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 27 (1979), pp. 337–52 for a sometimes unsuccessful attempt to map Herodotus’s story onto that of Darius’s. For a more positive view on Herodotus’s knowledge and access to accurate Near Eastern resources, see Sarah Mandell, “The Language, Eastern Sources, and Literary Posture of Herodotus,” *The Ancient World* 21 (1990), pp. 103–8.
- 3 Hdt. 3.139–40 declares as much: Darius was not yet “a person of power or consequence,” meaning simply that he was not the son of a king. Instead, he was a “private citizen,” an *idiōtēs*.
- 4 Darius adopted Cyrus into the new royal family by proclaiming him “king” and Achaemenid on the royal inscriptions of Cyrus at Pasargadae (CMA, CMB, and CMC), which have been attributed to Darius.



- 5 Pierre Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire*, trans. Peter T. Daniels (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2002), p. 103; DB § 14.
- 6 Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 109–10; DB § 1.
- 7 Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, “Political Concepts in Old Persian Royal Inscriptions,” in *Anfänge politischen Denkens in der antike: Die nahöstlichen Kulturen und der Griechen*, ed. Kurt Raaflaub (Schriften des historischen Kollegs, Kolloquien 24. Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1993), p. 157, comments: “Although for all practical purposes the reign of Darius may have represented a less clear break with the past than Herodotus’ remarks on Darius’s reform (III. 89) may lead us to believe, in the development of political thinking it is an important turning point.” However, it may just be the case that the break in regime between Cyrus and Darius was certainly as monumental as Herodotus suggests, and perhaps even more so. This impression becomes clear through the novel ways in which Darius chose to represent himself, and is consistent with current scholarly thought regarding Cyrus as Perso-Elamite, Darius as very strictly “Achaemenid,” as discussed in n. 1.
- 8 Persepolis, located in the Fars region of modern day Iran, was first excavated by Ernst Herzfeld in the 1930s. Darius began building there ca. 520 BCE, and has a significant presence at the site: Donald N. Wilber, *Persepolis: the Archaeology of Parsa, Seat of the Persian Kings* (Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press), p. 32.
- 9 Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, p. 171. This image comes through in scenes of the king in worship, subject peoples bearing the royal throne, and royal audience scenes with gift-bearing people, all with the king and the god Ahuramazda central to the scene. The inscriptions accompanying these images similarly express loyalty to the king, a reciprocal relationship between the king and the god Ahuramazda, and peaceful collaboration with the people under Persian dominion.
- 10 For the programmatic nature of Achaemenid art, the responsibility of the king and his court for the art presented, and ways in which “empire” is interpreted in Achaemenid artwork, see Margaret Cool Root, “Circles of Artistic Programming: Strategies for Studying Creative Process at Persepolis,” in *Investigating Artistic Environments in the Ancient Near East*, ed. A. C. Gunter (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1990), pp. 115–39.
- 11 See fig. 1.
- 12 Margaret Cool Root, “Imperial Ideology in Achaemenid Persian Art: Transforming the Mesopotamian Legacy,” *Bulletin of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies* 35 (2000), p. 23. The Bisitun monument will receive more detailed discussion below.
- 13 “... the monumental royal texts and images are not reflections of any lived experience, but carefully construed environments that serve first and foremost to project ideals of royal action and comportment.” Mark B. Garrison, “By the Favor of Auramazdā: Kingship and the Divine in the Early Achaemenid Period,” (in press), p. 4.
- 14 The iconography at Persepolis especially was a “deliberate attempt to create new legitimizing ideology, using motifs which very often had a venerable past, but at the same time served to express new ideas.” See Margaret Cool Root, *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art: Essays on the Creation of an Iconography of Empire*, *Acta Iranica* 19 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979), p. 154.
- 15 Carl Nylander, “Achaemenid Imperial Art,” in *Power and Propaganda: A Symposium on Ancient Empires*, ed. Mogens Trolle Larsen (Copenhagen, 1979), p. , 356.
- 16 “... Whatever models might have inspired the king and his advisors, it is clear that to their way of thinking this was not to be dependent on any existing monument; rather, it was to be an entirely new creation in which the borrowings were melted down and recast into a new work of art in service of a power for which no comparable precedent could be named.” See Root, *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art*, p. 124; for possible prototypes, see pp. 182–226.
- 17 The amalgamation of styles “may have been the result of a conscious attempt to give to this Achaemenid victory monument the association with archetypal power which, within the Persian heritage-memory, might quite naturally have been linked inseparably to the monuments of the Assyrian kings.” Root, *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art*, pp. 213–14.
- 18 The specifics of the monument could not have been clear to spectators from below without the proper equipment, though the visual “grandeur” of the monument was certainly conspicuous. See Ben Rubin, “(Re)presenting Empire: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor, 31 BCE–AD 6868” (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2008), pp. 83–84. See also Root, *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art*, p. 193, for the Bisitun relief as a monument for which the average traveler would have experienced “the generalized aspect of the relief in its function as a non-specific statement of royal power.”
- 19 Amélie Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire Vols. 1 and 2* (London and New York: Routledge,

- 2007), p. 151, n. 1. For the layout of the languages on the monument, see fig. 2.
- 20 Old Persian contains some loan words from Median, another Iranian language, though it does contain some artificial elements, as will be shown in the forthcoming discussion of the Bisitun monument.
- 21 Translation from Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, p. 149.
- 22 Pierre Lecoq, *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide* (Paris: Gallimard, 1997), p. 86.
- 23 For the placement of the inscriptions on the Bisitun monument, see again fig. 2. The latest edited version of the text can be found in R. Schmitt, *The Bisitun Inscriptions of Darius the Great: Old Persian Text* (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, vol. I, Texts I: School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 1991). Schmitt indicates that the Bisitun monument was not originally conceived as a trilingual, but rather that the placement of the texts reveals the creation of the idea during the period of construction (Schmitt, p. 18). Omitting §71–76, the Old Persian version is accompanied by renderings in Elamite and Akkadian (Babylonian).
- 24 Josef Wiesehöfer, *Ancient Persia from 550 BCE to 650 AD*, trans. A. Azodi (London and New York: I. B. Tauris Publishers, 1996), p. 17.
- 25 *Contra* Igor Mikhailovich Diakonoff, “The Origin of the ‘Old Persian’ Writing System and the Ancient Oriental Epigraphic and Annalistic Traditions,” in *W. B. Henning Memorial Volume*, ed. Mary Boyce and Ilya Gershevitch (London: Lund Humphries, 1970), p. 105 and n. 21. He writes that in an additional portion of DB §70 Darius claims that the inscription “was written down and read aloud before me,” implying that Darius was illiterate and therefore could not have invented OP (with the assumption that he had to have command of at least two other ancient languages to invent a new one). The notion must be dismissed that Darius was illiterate and could not possibly be the creator of Old Persian.
- 26 For more discussion of all three languages and the reason for their use in these inscriptions, see below.
- 27 The Elamite version of the trilingual text seems to have preceded all others, with Babylonian added afterwards and the Old Persian stuck in wherever possible. George Cameron, “The Persian Satrapies and Related Matters,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 32 (1973), p. 51.
- 28 “Even if in some cases the old-Persian version of the texts is demonstrably secondary (e.g., Bisitun), old Persian as the language of the kings should nevertheless be regarded as the original text.” Sancisi-Weerdenburg, “Political Concepts,” p. 152.
- 29 Some argue that Bisitun was indeed not the first time Old Persian appears in the record, as it is inscribed at Pasargadae, the tomb of Cyrus the Great (CMa, CMB, CMc). Various parties have attributed the inscriptions to Darius after Cyrus’s death. For the inscriptions of Cyrus at Pasargadae as written by Darius and various arguments on both sides, see Lecoq, *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide*, p. 81. Lecoq decides that these inscriptions had to have been written by Cyrus. However, if one figures in the date of construction and the fact that Darius probably had to finish the buildings here after Cyrus’s death, the picture changes. This is also shown by the fact that CMc has the same decorations as those at the Palace of Darius. According to a reconstruction by R. Borger and W. Hinz of CMB, the fragments of which were found in the debris of Palace P, this text was written under Darius and states in part that Cyrus built the palace for himself and carved the reliefs, according to Root, *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art*, pp. 52–53; see also p. 54 n. 27. Even if it is the case that Darius went back and added the Old Persian, it was only then that the inscriptions at Pasargadae became trilingual, so we can still maintain Darius as the agent for the deployment of that particular aspect.
- As far as my research has been able to discern, two pre-Achaemenid trilinguals do exist. The first is the “Incirli” trilingual, an eighth-century BCE road sign that displays Neo-Assyrian, Hieroglyphic Luvian, and Phoenician, later overwritten with Greek script. A reference for this artifact: Stephen A. Kaufman, “The Phoenician Inscription of the Incirli Trilingual: A Tentative Reconstruction and Translation,” *MAARAV* 14, no. 2 (2007): <http://balshanut.wordpress.com/2009/01/26/kaufman-stephen-a-the-phoenician-inscription-of-the-incirli-trilingual-a-tentative-reconstruction-and-translation-maarav-1422007-7-26/>. See also <http://www.usc.edu/dept/LAS/religion/arc/incirli/index.htm>. The second pre-Achaemenid trilingual, ca. thirteenth century BCE, is a hymn to the storm-god Iškur-Adad, written in Sumerian, Akkadian, and Hittite, edited by Emmanuel Laroche in *RA* 58 (1964), pp. 69–78. Professor Ben Fortson has suggested to me that this text is analogous to a scribal didactic text, and would not have been used in state cult practices. For other examples of this variety of hymnic text, see Itamar Singer, *Hittite Prayers* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), p. 3, with reference also to Gernot Wilhelm, “Hymnen der Hethiter,” in *Hymnen der Alten Welt im Kulturvergleich*, ed. W. Burkert and E. Stolz (Freiburg, 1994), p. 70. Neither of these early examples seem to be contrary to my main argument, as

- the trilingual did not make a concentrated appearance in the record until the period of Darius I and, as I will show, his utilization of the combination of the three languages and the iconography with which they were closely associated had very specific ideological/cosmic and political implications.
- 30 See Garrison, "By the Favor of Auramazdā," p. 32.
- 31 The text of the inscriptions, in various languages, was circulated throughout the empire. See Anna Missiou, "The Politics of Translation," *Classical Quarterly* 43, no. 2 (1993), p. 387; Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, pp. 100–101.
- 32 "As an illegitimate ruler, Darius, following in the tradition of great usurpers of the past, took pains to stress his divine selection, ascribing his rule to the favor of Ahuramazda." Marian H. Feldman, "Darius I and the Heroes of Akkad: Affect and Agency in the Bisitun Relief," in *Ancient Near Eastern Art in Context: Studies in Honor of Irene J. Winter*, ed. Jack Chang and Marian Feldman (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2007), p. 267.
- 33 He is most often invoked alone (cf. DPh, DPe, DSz, DSaa, for example), and rarely with other gods (DPd, DPf).
- 34 For a bibliography on the subject, see Bruce Lincoln, *Religion, Empire, and Torture: The Case of Achaemenian Persia, with a postscript on Abu Ghraib* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press), p. 115.
- 35 In *Religion, Empire, and Torture*, p. 15, Lincoln suggest two possibilities, not mutually exclusive: that the Achaemenids were Zoroastrians whose views were inflected by political considerations, causing differences from strictly religious priestly texts; the Zoroastrian texts and the Achaemenid inscriptions can be understood as two variants within a pan-Iranian tradition that can be labeled "Mazdaean."
- 36 P. O. Skaerjvø, "The Achaemenids and the Avesta," in *Birth of the Persian Empire*, ed. Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis and Sarah Stewart (London, New York: I. B. Tauris, 2004), pp. 52–54.
- 37 Skaerjvø, "The Achaemenids and the Avesta," pp. 58–59.
- 38 Much has been made of Herodotus's comments that the Persians made no images of their gods (1.132). His credibility on this point must be questioned based on the archaeological evidence.
- 39 See A. S. Shahbazi, "An Achaemenid Symbol I: A Farewell to 'Fravahr' and 'Ahuramazda,'" *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 7 (1974), pp. 135–44, and "An Achaemenid Symbol II: Farnah '(God-Given) Fortune' Symbolized," *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 9 (1980), pp. 119–47.
- 40 The standard study of Farnah is by W. H. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth Century Books* (The Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1943), pp. 1–77. Shahbazi presents an especially interesting theory regarding Darius's use of the winged disk figure at Bisitun: "Since Darius was not born in purple, he justified his acquisition of the Kingly Fortune through his well-respected royal forbear, the hero and eponymous founder of the Achaemenid House, who in a tradition was said to have been nursed by an eagle. Hence it is reasonable to identify the eagle-king of the Bisitun sculpture as Achaemenes, depicted to symbolize the Kingly Fortune of his inheritor, Darius." Shahbazi, "An Achaemenid Symbol II," p. 145.
- 41 Garrison, "By the Favor of Auramazdā," p. 26.
- 42 For more on headdresses, see Margaret Root's forthcoming article, "Defining the Divine: Performance-Arts of Achaemenid Persian Kingship," in *Every Inch a King: From Alexander to the King of Kings*, ed. L. Mitchell and C. Melville.
- 43 Root, *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art*, p. 170.
- 44 Root, *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art*, p. 171. A last important observation emerges from the Babylonian version of the Bisitun monument, which contains native Babylonian gods instead of the half-length figure present at the original monument, suggesting that the figure on Bisitun was meant to represent a god. See Ursula Seidl, "Ein Monument Darius' I. aus Babylon," *ZA* 89 (1999), pp. 101–14, esp. 107–8.
- 45 "... what we see here [at Bisitun] is the development of the royal ideology: the king's god par excellence is Ahuramazda. Worship of Ahuramazda is a metaphor for being loyal to the king." Sancisi-Weerdenburg, "Political Concepts," p. 157.
- 46 "It is to Ahura-Mazda that royal prayers are always raised in Darius's inscriptions ... we must recognize that in the official religion established by Darius, Ahura-Mazda had a supreme position." Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, p. 126.
- 47 Sabrina Maras's dissertation explores the connection of Darius to the winged disk figure of Ahuramazda, emphasizing Darius's use of the figure in close association to himself as an index of his elite "Persianness," becoming a potent symbol of Achaemenid rule. See Sabrina Maras, "Iconography, Identity and Inclusion: The Winged Disk and Royal Power During the Reign of Darius the Great" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2009).
- 48 The polyvalent audience of the trilingual inscription in this and other artistic contexts will be discussed in much detail below. It is important to note that one tablet has been discovered from the



- Persepolis Fortification Archive which is inscribed in Old Persian script, an unexpected administrative use of the language. However, it is most likely a product of “extraordinary behavior” rather than an indication of widespread use of Old Persian for anything other than royal use. Its rare appearance amongst tens of thousands of other tablets in Elamite proves that the Old Persian tablet is indeed an exception to the rule. See M. W. Stolper and J. Tavernier, “From the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project, 1: An Old Persian Administrative Tablet from the Persepolis Fortification,” *ARTA* 1 (2007), pp. 1–28; <http://www.achemenet.com/document/2007.001-Stolper-Tavernier.pdf>.
- 49 Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, p. 127.
- 50 This is not to say that the monument was not accessible to humans, at least in textual form; quite the contrary, in fact. The text was disseminated throughout the empire, as we know from a local version discovered in Babylon and possibly another of the same sort in Susa (K. Abdi, pers. comm., May 2011). Some even argue that Herodotus had access to a Greek version of the inscriptions at Bisitun either through oral or written means. See David M. Lewis, “Persians in Herodotus,” in *Selected Papers in Greek and Near Eastern History*, ed. P. J. Rhodes (Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 345–61. In addition, later seals have been identified that appear to be “knock-offs” of the imagery of the Bisitun monument. See Wu Xin, “Enemies of Empire: A Historical Reconstruction of Political Conflicts between Central Asians and the Persian Empire,” in *The World of Achaemenid Persia: History, Art and Society in Iran and the Ancient Near East*, ed. J. Curtis and St. J. Simpson (London and New York: I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 2010), pp. 545–63. These examples suggest a general knowledge of the monument and its significance; I speak specifically of the power of the monument on the rock face at Bisitun and its unique and novel use of trilingual inscriptions.
- 51 Gernot Windfuhr, “Saith Darius. Dialectic, Numbers, Time and Space at Bisitun (DB, Old Persian Version, 520 B.C.),” in *Achaemenid History VIII. Continuity and Change*, ed. Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, Amélie Kuhrt, and Margaret Cool Root (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut Voor Het Nabije Oosten, 1994), p. 279.
- 52 Skaerjvø posits an appreciation of Darius’s self-representation as legitimate because he is a chosen human representative of Ahuramazda, with his dynasty founded on these principles. This would explain his single-minded insistence on Ahuramazda and the later inclusion of other gods in the inscriptions. Skaerjvø, “The Achaemenids and the Avesta,” pp. 80–81.
- 53 See abbreviations in appendix 1.
- 54 See appendix 2 for a table of all of the royal name seals known from the Achaemenid period. Our glyptic record is skewed toward the reigns of Darius and Xerxes by the fortunate discovery of the Persepolis Fortification and Treasury Archives; should there be more discoveries of a similar sort in the future we may have a better picture of the development of the trilingual royal name seal especially.
- 55 See Mark B. Garrison, “Seals and Elite at Persepolis: Some Observations on Early Achaemenid Persian Art,” *Ars Orientalis* 21 (1991), p. 3, for so-called “J texts,” recording transactions “dispensed in behalf of the king.” See also Garrison and Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets, Volume 1*, pp. 11, 58.
- 56 See Jan Tavernier, “Multilingualism in the Fortification and Treasury Archives,” in *L’Archive des Fortifications de Persépolis: État des questions et perspectives de recherches (Persika 12)*, ed. Pierre Briant, Wouter Henkelman, and Matthew Stolper (Editions de Boccard, 2008), p. 62.
- 57 See abbreviations in appendix 1.
- 58 Boardman’s analysis, now outdated, focused upon the Treasury tablets and a small amount of unprovenanced seals. Mark B. Garrison, “Seals and Elite at Persepolis,” p. 13, and Garrison and Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets, Volume 1*, pp. 18–19, redefine Boardman’s original assumptions.
- 59 Garrison and Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets, Volume 1*, p. 18.
- 60 Garrison and Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets, Volume 1*, p. 19.
- 61 Boardman’s analysis of the London Darius Cylinder is a good example of this misclassification. See Deniz Kaptan, *The Daskyleion Bullae: Seal Images from the Western Achaemenid Empire Vols 1 and 2: Achaemenid History XII* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut Voor Het Nabije Oosten, 2002), vol. 1, no. 2, and especially Mark B. Garrison, “Seal Workshops and Artists in Persepolis: A Study of the Seal Impressions Preserving the Theme of Heroic Encounter on the Persepolis Fortification and Treasury Tablets” (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1988), pp. 383–94.
- 62 Elspeth R. M. Dussinberre, “Imperial Style and Constructed Identity: A ‘Graeco-Persian’ Cylinder Seal from Sardis,” *Ars Orientalis* 27 (1997), p. 111.
- 63 See fig. 3. For PFS\* 93, see Mark B. Garrison and Margaret Cool Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets, Volume 2: Images of Human Activity* (Chicago: for Oriental Institute Publications, forthcoming).

- 64 Garrison, "Seals and Elite at Persepolis," p. 7.
- 65 For a more recent discussion of the imagery on the seal, see Mark Garrison, "The Seal of 'Kuraš the Anzanite, son of Šešpeš' (Teispes), PFS 93\*," in *Elam and Persia*, ed. J. Álvarez-Mons and M. B. Garrison (Eisenbrauns, 2011), pp. 375–405, who argues that the glyptic style is reminiscent of nascent creativity in the Fars region (rather than in Susa) in the seventh century BCE.
- 66 Garrison and Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets, Volume 1*, p. 14, n. 45.
- 67 PFS 1683\* has recently been identified as distinct, classified as PFUTS 0018\*, meaning that it occurs on uninscribed tablets from the Fortification Archive. The seal itself, however, is inscribed. See Mark B. Garrison, "The Uninscribed tablets from the Fortification Archive: a preliminary analysis," in *L'Archive des Fortifications de Persépolis: État des questions et perspectives de recherches (Persika 12)*, ed. Pierre Briant, Wouter Henkelman, and Matthew Stolper (Editions de Boccard, 2008), pp. 149–238.
- 68 See fig. 4.
- 69 Garrison, "Seals and Elite at Persepolis," p. 18.
- 70 See figs. 5 and 6 for images of PFS 66a\* and PFS 66b\*. All versions of PFS 66\* are always accompanied by PFS 7\* on documents concerning the delivery of flour: "It thus seems that the office represented by PFS 66\* could not authorize transactions of its own accord but needed the counterseal of PFS 7\*"; Garrison, "Seals and Elite at Persepolis," p. 10. PFS 66\* in all its variations are consonant with the imagery on the Council and Throne Halls at Persepolis. PFS 66\* a–c are to be published in the forthcoming volume of Garrison and Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets, Volume 2*.
- 71 Garrison and Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets, Volume 1*, p. 7.
- 72 See fig. 7.
- 73 See fig. 8.
- 74 Elspeth R. M. Dusingberre, "King or God? Imperial Iconography and the 'Tiarate Head' Coins of Achaemenid Anatolia," in *Across the Anatolian Plateau: Readings in the Archaeology of Ancient Turkey*, ed. David C. Hopkins (Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2000), p. 160.
- 75 Mark B. Garrison, "The Seals of Ašbazana (Aspathines)," in *Achaemenid History XI: Studies in Persian History: Essays in Memory of David M. Lewis*, ed. Maria Brosius and Amélie Kuhrt (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1998), p. 131, n. 30.
- 76 One last trilingual royal name seal that bears the name of Darius is the very famous "London Darius cylinder (SDa)," housed in the British Museum. See fig. 9. The seal does have some amount of uncertainty associated with it, in that it was purchased, purportedly having been found in Thebes. Two date palms flank a heroic chariot scene with an Ahuramazda figure above it and a trilingual inscription proclaiming "Darius the King." Though it does contain our three typical elements, it has so many disparities from our prototypical PFS seals that it can only be identified as a "regional variation on the Court Style." See Garrison, "Seals and Elite at Persepolis," p. 20. Thus, because it does not come directly out of the royal capital of the Persian Empire, we can assume that the order for the production of SDa may not have come directly from the king, and thus should be excluded from the discussion of the Persepolis Archive seals.
- 77 It is important to remember that not only were statements of monumental stature accessible to the people within the purview of the Persian Empire but smaller items such as seals were as well. Margaret Root reminds us that "Seals were held, displayed, handled, and discussed. They were applied to the tablets in a social context involving human engagement." See M. C. Root, "The Legible Image: How Did Seals Sealing Matter in Persepolis?" in *L'Archive des Fortifications de Persépolis: État des questions et perspectives de recherches (Persika 12)*, ed. Pierre Briant, Wouter Henkelman, and Matthew Stolper (Editions de Boccard, 2008), p. 109.
- 78 This terminology is only used with reference to the PFS corpus.
- 79 Garrison, "By the Favor of Auramazdā," p. 36.
- 80 See fig. 10.
- 81 See fig. 11.
- 82 Other possibilities for reading "threes" into PFS 7\* are: the division of Palm-Beast-King+Ahuramazda (P-B-K+A, can also be read anagrammatically as K+A-B-P); or as Margaret Root has suggested to me, with relation to the heroic control encounter in particular: Beast-King+Ahuramazda-Beast, etc. All of these suggestions maintain the importance of the king and Ahuramazda as a combined entity.
- 83 For altars in Achaemenid sealings and art, see Garrison, "By the Favor of Auramazdā." Depictions of "fire altars" in monumental and pictorial art are common in the Achaemenid period, though Garrison favors Boyce's designation "fire holder" since the altars were not meant to receive a sacrifice and should be restricted to apparatuses that have a clear Zoroastrian religious context. Mark Garrison, "Fire Altars," *Encyclopedia Iranica*, online edition (1999), available at

- <http://www.iranica.com/articles/fire-altars>. For more on fire altars, see Y. Yamamoto, "The Zoroastrian Temple Cult of Fire in Archaeology and Literature (I)," *Orient* 15 (1979), pp. 19–53.
- 84 It is also possible to discuss PFS 11\* in a similar manner to that suggested for PFS 7\*, with regards to the tight coordination between the king and the altar (as with the king standing for the royal hero on PFS 7\*). So here we may envision the tripartite situation in this way: [OP El Bab] Palm-King-Altar+Ahuramazda-King-Palm [OP El Bab].
- 85 See fig. 25 for an image of Naqsh-i Rostam. The mirror imagery at Naqsh-i Rostam is similar to that of PFS 11\*, according to Garrison, "By the Favor of Auramazdā," pp. 36–37. Further, it is interesting to note that Naqsh-i Rostam and Persepolis form their own "mirror," where the tomb faces the platform, albeit five kilometers away. We may like to think of Persepolis as the earthly throne of the kings, whose imagery is reconstituted on the tomb of Darius at Naqsh-i Rostam, a "cosmic" entity facing a "terrestrial" one.
- 86 Dusinberre, "King or God?," p. 159.
- 87 For the reliefs from the Council and Throne Halls at Persepolis, see Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, figs. 21 and 22.
- 88 Garrison, "By the Favor of Auramazdā," p. 33.
- 89 The seals' concordance with the iconography on the wall reliefs at Persepolis "does not indicate that the seal artists copied the wall reliefs. Rather, it shows that both phenomena had the same ultimate source of formal inspiration: the imperial program carefully planned under the direction of the Great King and his closest advisors." See Garrison, "Seals and Elite at Persepolis," p. 17. These are, of course, only a few examples in a great body of imagery that can be compared between the seal corpora and the monumental architecture.
- 90 Matthew W. Stolper, "Achaemenid Languages and Inscriptions," in *Forgotten Empire: The World of Ancient Persia*, ed. John Curtis and N. Tallis (University of California Press, 2005), p. 19; Rüdiger Schmitt "Altpersisch," in *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum*, ed. Rüdiger Schmitt (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1989), pp. 57, 83–84.
- 91 Lecoq, *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide*, p. 51.
- 92 Cameron, "The Persian Satrapies and Related Matters," p. 47.
- 93 Darius divided his empire into twenty tax-paying districts, with Persis tax-free. This means that the empire was divided into twenty-one parts, a multiple of three. See A. S. Shahbazi, "Persepolis and the Avesta," *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 27 (1994), p. 89.
- 94 This is certainly not a ubiquitous tendency, as some trilinguals would have been separated from one another, though professing the same goal; other trilinguals appear contiguously but do not relay the same message. The most conspicuous example of this tendency is the trilingual on the South Takht wall at Persepolis (DPe+DPf+DPg), contiguous monolingual inscriptions with different subject matter. Perhaps we envision here the creative process at work, the development of the full meaning of the trilingual.
- 95 The selection of the cities to be highlighted by the trilingual may have had a great pull: these are three important cities that Alexander the Great visited after his defeat of Darius III in 331 BCE (among many others), implying their continued importance in the royal environment of the Persian Empire.
- 96 Lincoln, *Religion, Empire, and Torture*, p. 223.
- 97 "... for the early Persians all this [monumental architecture and relief work] was the expression of a timeless idea of a universal and cosmic order upheld by divine assistance and mutual loyalty between king and subjects. This same idea is reflected in the trilingual inscriptions, whether through their emphasizing the qualities of the king or the importance of the subjects' loyalty to the stability of the empire, or through their references to divine support for the king or to the vast expansion of the empire." Wiesehöfer, *Ancient Persia*, p. 25.
- 98 My rigorous focus on the trilingual inscription is not meant to diminish or ignore the importance of other mono- or bilingual inscriptions of the empire. Monolingual inscriptions also support the greater program of Darius and contain the same sort of language; I maintain that the trilingual inscriptions have some sort of greater symbolic force in the context of the iconography, with Bisitun, etc., in mind. For important monolingual inscriptions in the Achaemenid Empire, see Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire, passim*. Though these other types of inscriptions are often important, trilinguals are present in contexts like building charters, geographical and ethnic identifications of the empire, most of the royal name seals that would have been visible throughout the empire, and in elaborate personal statements of kingship like Bisitun and Naqsh-i Rostam. (For an interesting study in this, see XPl, a twin of DNb [with the name of Xerxes replacing that of Darius] but for which only the OP version survives: Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, p. 503. One could even argue that the monolingual inscriptions perform a sub-function of the trilinguals, for example in the tetraology of DPd and



- DPe [Old Persian] with DPf [Elamite] and DPg [Babylonian] present on the terrace at Persepolis. These are monolingual inscriptions, but together perform the same function as a trilingual would—describing the honor of the Persian people, imploring the protection of Ahuramazda, recalling the construction of the palace, and listing the people in the Persian army [similar motifs as those seen in the trilinguals].) All of these perform the same function in representing the meaning of Persepolis: it is a political one, reaffirming the superior and eminent role of the Persian people with respect to others. Lecoq, *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide*, p. 98.
- 99 Root, *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art*, p. 139, n. 25.
- 100 See Amélie Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, fig. 11.4, for a side view of the statue of Darius I from Susa.
- 101 Root, *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art*, p. 147.
- 102 Irene J. Winter, "The Conquest of Space in Time: 'Three Suns on the Victory Stele of Naram-Sin,'" in *Assyria and beyond: studies presented to Mogens Trolle Larsen*, ed. J. G. Dercksen (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2004), p. 609. For an image of the stele of Naram-Sin, see fig. 12.
- 103 For an image of the celestial bodies on the Babylonian version of the relief at Bisitun, see fig. 13.
- 104 Winter, "The Conquest of Space and Time," p. 612, n. 4.
- 105 Winter, "The Conquest of Space and Time," p. 621.
- 106 Winter, "The Conquest of Space and Time," p. 624.
- 107 Darius claims to have won nineteen battles in one year, though the number of known battles totaled eighteen, and occurred over the span of more than one year. For various scholarly interpretations on this "problem" and a useful graph of the battles mentioned, see A. S. Shabhazi, "The 'One Year' of Darius Re-Examined," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 35 (1972), pp. 609–14. I suggest below that we should be more concerned with those considerations ideological, rather than with those chronological.
- 108 Windfuhr, "Saith Darius," p. 267.
- 109 Feldman, "Darius I and the Heroes of Akkad," pp. 274–82, seeks to prove that Darius would have in fact had first-hand experience with the stele of Naram-Sin at the royal "museum" in Susa. H. Tadmor, "History and Ideology in the Assyrian Royal Inscriptions," in *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: New Horizons in Literary, Ideological, and Historical Analysis*, ed. F. M. Fales, pp. 13–33 (Rome, 1981), points out that it was a significant motif of the warrior-conqueror to illustrate his dominance in the matter of a year, especially in his first "term of office."
- 110 Carl Nylander, "Xenophon, Darius, Naram-Sin: A Note on the King's 'Year,'" in *Opus Mixtum: Essays in Ancient Art and Society* 58 (Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae 8/o, 21: Stockholm, 1994).
- 111 Clarisse Herrenschmidt, "Aspects universalistes de la religion et de l'idéologie de Darius I," in *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci memoriae dicata*, ed. Gherardo Gnoli et Lionello Lanciotti (Serie Orientale Roma 61.3, Rome: Istituto Italiano per il medio ed estremo oriente, 1987), p. 618.
- 112 Clarisse Herrenschmidt, "Old Persian Cuneiform: Writing as Cosmological Ritual and Text," in *Ancestor of the West: writing, reasoning, and religion in Mesopotamia, Elam, and Greece* 119 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).
- 113 Shabhazi, "Persepolis and the Avesta," p. 88.
- 114 The "three functions" are a superficial term used by Dumézil to describe the categories he imposed upon the Indo-Iranian social structure. For a review of his ideas, see Emily Lyle, "Dumézil's Three Functions and Indo-European Cosmic Structure," *History of Religions* 22 (1982), pp. 25–44.
- 115 Benveniste, "Traditions Indo-Iraniennes sur les Classes Sociales," p. 538.
- 116 For instance, there are many examples of "subject lists" in the reign of Darius and his successors, one of the most famous being the "foundation inscription," from Susa (DSf), which lists twenty-three different subject peoples in the empire. I do not mean to denigrate any of these instances, or insinuate that the number three had to be included in all official documents of Darius, but rather I seek to highlight what was clearly an important expressive strategy in the early Achaemenid Empire.
- 117 The cultural exchange between the Persians and the areas outside of the immediate area of Fars was a central priority of the Achaemenids: see, for example, Quintus Curtius 5, 28–29.
- 118 See Xenophon *Cyropaedia* 8.6.10 on the satrapal court as a mirror of the royal court.
- 119 Elspeth R. M. Dusinberre, *Gordion Seals and Sealings: Individuals and Society*, Vol. 1: Text (University of Pennsylvania Museum: University Museum Monograph 124, 2005), p. 51. See fig. 14 and appendix 2.
- 120 Dusinberre, *Gordion Seals and Sealings*, Vol. 1, p. 53. My earlier definition of Court Style is important here, as in the seals from Gordion we have an example of Achaemenid court iconography successfully fused with features of physical style, which can reflect local hybridities and artistic tendencies, all during the reign of one king: Darius.

- 121 Dusinberre, *Gordion Seals and Sealings*, Vol. 1, p. 280.
- 122 We even have an inscription from the reign of Xerxes at Van (XV), the ancient capital of Armenia. The inscription is interesting not only for being a rare Achaemenid inscription outside of Iran (and a trilingual at that!) but also because of its strange nature. A monument carved into a rock by Darius, it was left without an inscription during his reign. So Xerxes left an inscription in place of the one we might have expected originally from his father: §3: "Le roi Xerxès declare: 'King Darius, my father, by the race of Ahuramazda, made this very beautiful, and he ordered the site to be dug; since he was not able to write an inscription, then, for myself, I ordered this inscription to be written.'" Lecoq, *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide*, p. 263.
- 123 Feldman, "Darius I and the Heroes of Akkad," p. 277. DSf, one of the earliest trilinguals from the reign of Darius (it mentions Darius's father Hystaspes as still alive) was found at Susa. See M. C. Root, "Palace to Temple—King to Cosmos: Achaemenid Foundation Texts in Iran," in *The Foundations to the Crenellations: Essays on Temple Building in the Ancient Near East and Hebrew Bible*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament ed. M. J. Boda and J. R. Novotny (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, in press), p. 180. Therefore we should view Susa as a place crucial to the initial stages of Darius's self-campaign, just like Persepolis.
- 124 David Stronach, "Une statue de Darius découverte à Suse: Description and Comment," *Journal Asiatique* (1972), p. 241; see fig. 15.
- 125 P. Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte* (Bibliothèque d'étude, I, Cairo: Imprimerie de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 1936), pp. 50–87.
- 126 One example of this is an Achaemenid period vase fragment found in Sepphoris by excavators from the University of Michigan. It contains a quadrilingual inscription in Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian, and Egyptian Hieroglyphs. All four of the inscriptions read: "Artaxerxes, King." See Matthew W. Stolper in *Sepphoris in Galilee: Crosscurrents of Culture*, ed. R. M. Nagy, et al. (Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Museum of Art, 1996).
- 127 Root, *King and Kingship*, p. 144.
- 128 See fig. 20.
- 129 There has been some scholarly disagreement as to the date of construction for this temple. E. Cruz-Uribe, "Hibis Temple Project: Preliminary Report, 1985–1986 and Summer 1986 Field Seasons," *Varia Aegyptiaca* 3 (1987), pp. 225–30 argues that the temple was built by the Egyptian Saite dynasty (685–525 BCE), while others more convincingly argue for a construction date in the reign of Darius I. See K. Mysliwiec, *The Twilight of Ancient Egypt: First Millennium B.C.E.*, trans. D. Lorton (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), pp. 137–43.
- 130 Root, *King and Kingship*, p. 128.
- 131 For the story of the competition between Darius's two sons, cf. Hdt. 7.-2-3 and Justin 2.10.1–10. The inscriptions associated with the succession, three in Old Persian and one in Babylonian, were found in the so-called Harem at Persepolis (XPf).
- 132 Walther Hinz, *Darius und die Perser: eine Kulturgeschichte der Achämeniden* (Baden-Baden: Holle, 1976), p. 11.
- 133 Wiesehöfer, *Ancient Persia*, p. 54.
- 134 Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, p. 304, n. 4.
- 135 See Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, p. 301. The only phrase that does not occur in DE is "the greatest of the gods," contained in § 1 of XE.
- 136 Sancisi-Weerdenburg, "Political Concepts," p. 158. Some have suggested that DE was cut posthumously by Xerxes. Whether or not this was the case is not crucial to the argument, except that it attaches both kings to the force of the trilingual's message.
- 137 For these, see Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte*, pp. 141–45.
- 138 A potent example of this is an alabaster vessel discovered in the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, which is inscribed quadrilingually, with the Egyptian hieroglyphic text arranged vertically below the typical trilingual cuneiform format. See Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte*, p. 143.
- 139 For this, see Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, "Gifts in the Persian Empire," in *Le tribut dans l'empire perse*, ed. P. Briant and C. Herrenschildt (Paris: Peeters, 1989), pp. 129–46.
- 140 Kaptan, *The Daskyleion Bullae*, vol. 2, pp. 3–55. See appendix 2.
- 141 Kaptan, *The Daskyleion Bullae*, vol. 1, p. 5, n. 18.
- 142 See figs. 16 and 17 for line drawings of DS2 and DS3. SXf and SXg can be found in R. Schmitt, *Altpersische Siegel-Inschriften* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981), pp. 32–33.
- 143 See fig. 18 for a line drawing of DS4. The dates are based on coins discovered in the excavation context combined with the royal names on the seals themselves; Kaptan assigns the archive of bullae between the reign of Xerxes and the first quarter of the 4th century (*The Daskyleion Bullae*, vol. 1, 27). She argues that it is likely that the seals inscribed with Xerxes's name were applied to bullae that found their way (on documents) to Daskyleion "in the period after he

- granted the satrapal post to Artabazos following the defeat at Plataea in 479/8 BCE"; *The Daskyleion Bullae*, vol. 2, p. 27.
- 144 For an impression of PTS 8\*, see fig. 19.
- 145 For an impression of PTS 2\*, see fig. 20.
- 146 For an impression of PTS 6\*, see fig. 21.
- 147 For an impression of PTS 1\*, see fig. 22.
- 148 For an impression of PTS 3\*, see fig. 23.
- 149 For an impression of PTS 4\*, see fig. 24.
- 150 Dusinberre, "Imperial Style and Constructed Identity," p. 106. For instance, the winged disk figure is an incredibly popular motif in the PTS corpus, even though very few of these seals are "official."
- 151 Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, pp. 565–66.
- 152 Diodorus Siculus 11.7.1–2.
- 153 Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, p. 19, n. 1.
- 154 For the trilingually inscribed vessels, see Ann C. Gunter and M. C. Root, "Replicating, Inscribing, Giving: Ernst Herzfeld and Artaxerxes' Silver Phiale in the Freer Gallery of Art," *Ars Orientalis* 28 (1998), pp. 1–38. For the quadrilingual vessels, see Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte*, pp. 146–47.
- 155 Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 2.3–5 and 3.3–6 for the fight between Artaxerxes and Cyrus the Younger regarding the succession of the throne. This argument is the stage for the famous "March of the 10,000," recounted in Xenophon's *Anabasis*.
- 156 "By the favor of Ahuramazda, Anaitis, and Mithras, this palace I (re)built." For translation, see Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, p. 676.
- 157 Notably, Artaxerxes II does not invoke these other gods in his inscriptions at Persepolis, the last remnant of Darius's ideological program, and in those cases maintains the traditional form and function of the trilingual.
- 158 Clarisse Herrens Schmidt, "Manipulations religieuses de Darius I," in *Melanges Pierre Leveque IV*, ed. Evelyne Geny and Marie-Madeleine Mactoux (Besançon: Université de Besançon, 1990), p. 206.
- 159 Diodorus Siculus 15.93.1.
- 160 An Old Persian inscription proclaims, "I am Artaxerxes the great King."
- 161 For the murder of Artaxerxes III and IV by Bagoas, cf. Diodorus Siculus 17.5.3–6 and *BHLT* (Babylonian Dynastic Prophecy), 34–35.3.2–8.
- 162 Though the trilingual inscription may have disappeared from the Persian region, we can conjecture that the multilingual inscriptions of the Achaemenids were familiar to European Greeks. Stephanie West, "Herodotus' Epigraphical Interests," *Classical Quarterly* 35 (1985), pp. 278–305, suggests the possibility that the Samian inscriptions at the Bosphorus mentioned by Herodotus were multilingual and could have called to mind the trilingual inscriptions in other parts of the empire, such as Bisitun. The possibility for European familiarity with the multilingual inscriptions of the Persians can inform us as to the meanings of trilingual inscriptions that appear in the period after the Achaemenids outside of the immediate reaches of the Persian Empire.
- 163 Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, p. 862, n. 2.
- 164 "Even without a detailed analysis of the differences between the Aramaic and Greek texts, it seems fairly clear that the Greek text represents the position of the local authorities, with two archontes of Lycia and a governor of =/= established or confirmed by Pixodaros at their head..." André Lemaire, "The Xanthos Trilingual Revisited," in *Assyria and beyond: studies presented to Mogens Trolle Larsen*, ed. J. G. Derksen (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2004), p. 430.
- 165 Christian Le Roy, "Arameen, lycien, et grec: pluralité des langues et pluralité des cultures," in *Acta Anatolica: E. Laroche oblata: Colloque anatolien, Paris, 1–5 juillet 1985* (Hethitica VIII. Louvain: Peeters, 1987), p. 264.
- 166 Pierre Briant, "Inscriptions multilingues d'époque achéménide: le texte et l'image," *Le décret de Memphis: colloque de la Fondation Singer-Polignac à l'occasion de la célébration du bicentenaire de la découverte de la Pierre de Rosette* (Fondation Singer-Polignac: Diffusion, De Boccard, 2000), p. 98.
- 167 O. von Hinüber, "Did Hellenistic Kings Send Letters to Aśoka?" *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 130, no. 2 (2010), pp. 261–66.
- 168 D. C. Sircar, *Inscriptions of Aśoka: Third Edition* (Publications Division: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1975), p. 26.
- 169 J. Boardman, *The Diffusion of Classical Art in Antiquity* (Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 110.
- 170 Jay Ray, *The Rosetta Stone and the Rebirth of Ancient Egypt* (Harvard University Press, 2007), p. 136.
- 171 Ray, *The Rosetta Stone*, p. 1.
- 172 For the Egyptian decrees, see W. Huss, "Die in Ptolemaischer Zeit verfassten Synodal-Dekrete der ägyptischen Priester," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 88 (1991), pp. 189–208.
- 173 It has come to my attention that there is an unpublished decree found at Achmim in Egypt, dated to 243 BCE and in the same linguistic ordering as the Rosetta stone, though it has not yet been translated so its content is unknown. The emergence of this document may bring the issue of the trilingual to the forefront of ancient studies in the near future. Other decrees from the Ptolemaic period, such as the Canopus decree (for which, see Christian Tietze, Eva R. Lange, and Klaus Hallof, "Ein neues Exemplar des Canopus-Dekrets aus Bubastis," *Archiv*



für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete 51 [2005], pp. 1–29, pls. I–III, X–XI), also survive.

- 174 Rubin, *(Re)presenting Empire*, pp. 116ff, even views the version of the *Res Gestae* erected in Galatia in accordance with my own view (and indeed his own, along with many others) of the Bisitun monument: the native people would have seen it as an autobiographical statement of a king whose most important qualities were visual rather than “legible” per se. Through its sheer power, Augustus was automatically associated with the power of the great Achaemenid king, Darius I.
- 175 See ILS 8994, 8995. The languages appear in Greek, Latin, and hieroglyphics.
- 176 D. B. Thompson and L. Koenen, “Gallus as triptolemos on the Tazza Farnese,” *The Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 21 (1984), p. 141.
- 177 For more on the Gallus stelae, see Friedhelm Hoffmann, Martina Minas-Nerpel und Stefan Pfeiffer, *Die dreisprachige stele des C. Cornelius Gallus: Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Berlin, New York: Walter De Gruyter, 2009).
- 178 For an image of the trilingual inscriptions on the horses of Ardashir I at Naqshirustam, see fig. 26. A fuller description of the carving and the trilingual can be found in E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis III: The Royal Tombs and Other Monuments* (Oriental Institute Publications 70: University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 126.
- 179 A full translation of the inscription can be found in Richard N. Frye, *The History of Ancient Iran* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1984), pp. 371–73.
- 180 Herrenschmidt, “Old Persian Cuneiform,” p. 117.
- 181 Sancisi-Weerdenburg, “Political Concepts,” p. 154.







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